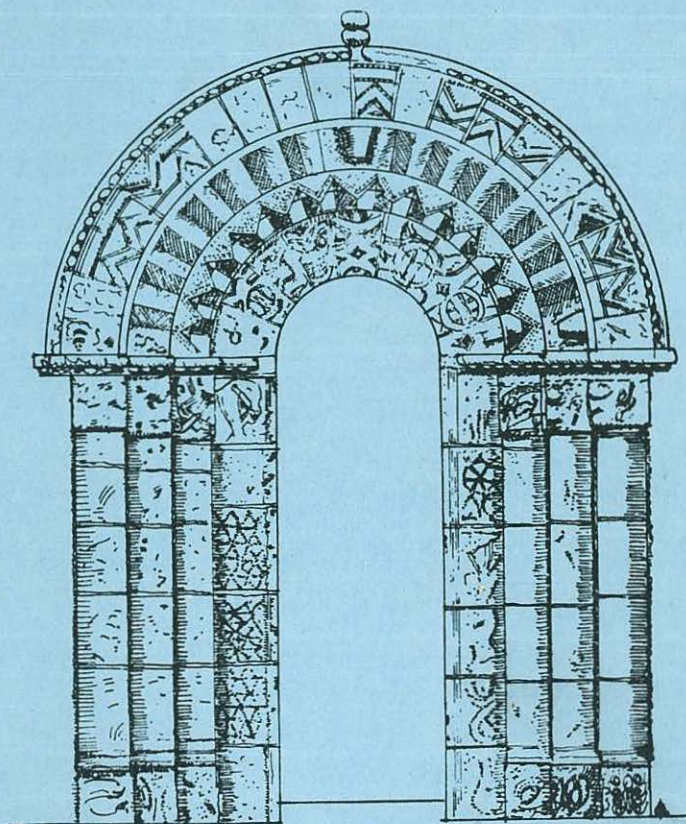


# BREIFNE



1967





# **BREIFNE**

**Vol. III**

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## **CUMANN SEANCHAIS BHREIFNE**

**(BREIFNE HISTORICAL SOCIETY)**

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# BREIFNE

## JOURNAL OF CUMANN SEANCHAIS BHREIFNE

(BREIFNE HISTORICAL SOCIETY)

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The cover shows the twelfth-century Kilmore Cathedral Doorway. Design is by Philip Cullivan, B.Arch.

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Articles, books for review, correspondence, etc., should be sent to the Secretary, Cumann Seanchais Bhreifne, St. Patrick's College, Cavan.

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# A Contribution to a Study of Fenianism in Breifne

by

Seán Ó Lúing

According to O'Donovan Rossa's published account, the region of Breifne would seem to have been included for Fenian organisation purposes in the Province of Connaught, attention to which was the special responsibility of Edward Duffy. Rossa in writing of his meetings with Peter J. Morrison, who was telegraph manager at Mullingar railway station in 1864, states that Morrison had "been for some time the acting lieutenant between Ned Duffy and the different centres living in Duffy's organising district of Connaught, which took in Westmeath, Longford and Cavan".<sup>1</sup>

Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa, who travelled Great Britain and Ireland in 1864 and 1865 in the interests of the Fenian movement, is described by John Devoy, a good authority, as having personally met and known more men in the Fenian organisation than any other individual. He travelled to every county of Ireland except Clare.

He is accordingly a personality through whose experiences we might suitably be introduced to a study of Fenianism in Breifne and incidentally to a major problem with which the Fenian organisation was faced there. This problem was to bring about a fusion of the two forces of Fenianism and Ribbonism in the common cause of nationalism. The Fenian leaders were not slow to recognise that the stubborn rugged qualities in-

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1 *United Irishman* (New York) 11 February 1899. Peter J. Morrison is described in the same account, which is Chapter VII of the second series of Rossa's *Recollections*, as "hale and hearty, and well-to-do at 382 Union street, Brooklyn, New York." O'Donovan Rossa published a book of his *Recollections*, which had appeared serially in his *United Irishman*, at Mariner's Harbor, New York, in 1898. This book brings the story of his life to 1863. A second series of his *Recollections*, covering his experiences from 1863 to 1865 (when he was sentenced to penal servitude) appeared in the *United Irishman* during 1898-99, but was not published in book form.

herent in the Ribbon movement might be shaped into a valuable and vigorous weapon of revolution. They accordingly set about the difficult task of absorbing it into the I.R.B. The task fell mainly on local leaders of influence and standing. Somewhere on the western marches of Breifne, in March 1865, we find Rossa adventuring in the company of Edward Duffy, with James Hyland, a national teacher of Ballaghadereen, as their guide, with the object of meeting a body of five hundred men (a considerable number). Rossa remembers that the place of meeting was "somewhere in that triangle of ground within the three towns of Ballaghadereen, Boyle and Ballymote" on a hill, within view of rocky eminences full of caves which he thought were located in the Keish Mountains. Through some error in the arrangements only half the expected number turned up at the place appointed to meet Rossa. The other half held rendezvous on a hill three miles off. There seems to have been a recognised system of calls for communication in such cases which were now used to send signals across the intervening space. A main purpose of this meeting is explained by Rossa.

A very serious question was to be determined this night. Another certain society was in the district, and the members of it were averse to the Society of United Irishmen<sup>2</sup> being introduced. Our men were beaten at fairs and markets, and on the highway, whenever they were met by the others. This had been going on for a few years; but now that the United Irishmen had got strong enough to command respect, and to overpower the others, some of them wanted permission to *force* the other party to join them — to actually beat them into the ranks of the Irish

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2 Society of United Irishmen. That is, the I.R.B. or Fenian Movement. The nomenclature of the Fenian Movement would need a monograph to itself. Joseph Denieffe was originally given the task, by Michael Doheny and his colleagues in New York, of introducing the Emmet Monument Association into Ireland. Denieffe remained in Ireland and was present, with Thomas Clarke Luby and others, when James Stephens founded the Irish Republican Brotherhood in Dublin on 17 March 1858. The title of Fenian Brotherhood was of later origin and was given to the American counterpart of the I.R.B. by John O'Mahony. On account of the frequent communication between Ireland and the U.S.A. the word "Fenian" was introduced into Ireland and became widely current in describing the movement.

The expression, Society of United Irishmen, used above by Rossa, may derive from its usage in the United States, when it became identified with the remnant of the Fenian Brotherhood and small allied groups (distinct from Clan na Gael) who supported Rossa's revolutionary policies.



revolutionary army. Ned Duffy and I would not allow it; we counselled peace, and we told them their forbearance in their strength would have a better effect; that it was better to use persuasion than force, and that there were many good men at the other side, and instanced the case of themselves, who were bitterly hostile to joining at first, but who were now ardent workers in the good cause. There was nothing preventing any one of them from being a member of both societies. There was, however, one difference — that the other was got up to defend the people from aggression, while ours had the object of making war on the aggressors and destroying their rule in the country. We admitted to our brotherhood all Irishmen, of every class and creed, who would swear to fight for the independence of their native land; they admitted to theirs only members of a particular creed. They were sectarian and defensive against the enemy; we were national and aggressive — organising our means to fight.

All seemed pleased with our interview, and it was satisfactory to learn shortly afterwards that the two societies were working harmoniously together.<sup>3</sup>

The passage quoted is from Chapter XVI of Rossa's *Irish Rebels in English Prisons*. Amongst the chapter headings on page 258 is one which has reference to the above passage and identifies the two societies specifically — “‘Fenianism’ and ‘Ribbonism’”.

Rossa has left us a second account of this adventure in his later narrative of Fenianism. This later narrative, while interesting, is unfortunately, spare and reticent. One reason for this is that he did not wish to mention the names of people active in the movement who might yet, at the time of his writing, about 1896-9, be living in Ireland and not impossibly liable to be victimised in one way or another by the ruling powers. What he has to add to his earlier account about his experiences in and around Breifne is not without interest.

Having described a meeting with Edward Duffy's mother at the Duffy home in Loughglynn, Co. Roscommon, he goes on to say:

From Loughglynn we went to Ballaghaderreen and stopped at the house of Tommie Spellman who was Ned's right-hand man there — and a right good man he was. Here lived ‘Shemus Andy’, who used to write under that name in the *Irish People* newspaper. His right name was James Hyland; he was put in prison a few years after; and

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3 Jeremiah O'Donovan-Rossa, *Irish Rebels in English Prisons*, pp. 266-7, 2nd ed. New York 1882 (Kenedy).

many years after I met him in Hyde Park, near Scranton, Pennsylvania, teaching school.

Ned and I used our side-car next day, to see two farmers who lived outside Ballaghadereen; one was on the road toward Ballymote, and the other in French park; their names were Neary — tall, strapping men, over six feet high. I have a great regard for that name Neary; I met men in England who carried it; some of them were at the Manchester Rescue; everywhere I met them they were good.

Hyland took us into the country next night to meet some of his men who lived in the mountains between Ballaghadereen and Carrick-on-Shannon. About half-way between the two towns we left the car and driver at a house on the roadside, and tramped it through the heather. We had to cross streams on trees of logwood that were laid over them as bridges; but when we got to the hill that Shemus Andy thought was to be the meeting place, the boys were not there; they were on another hill some two miles distant; so we did not come together that night.

Hyland had some trouble with his men; they wanted to beat into the organisation the men of another Irish organisation who used to beat the Hyland men at fairs and markets when they were weak in numbers. Now the Hyland men were stronger than the others, and they wanted to beat those others into their organisation. He would not give permission to have our work done that way.

When we got back through bog and heather to the roadside where our jarvey was, our shoes were wet, our stockings were wet. Carrick-on-Shannon is the nearest town, and on to it we drove. When we got there, there was no accommodation to be had at the hotel. We saw the light in the window of a public house; we rapped at the door and were let in. The landlord of it professed himself to be an Orangeman. He was *maith-go-leor* — perhaps more than enough of his own wares on board; but through it all he was a jolly good fellow, and, while he would not sell us any drink, as it was 'after hours', he would in his own house treat us to as much as we wanted — for nothing. Our driver went out again, and succeeded in waking up Arthur MacDermott, the proprietor of the hotel, who fixed us all right till morning.

Next day we met some of our men in the town, and in the evening we went to the town of Boyle.<sup>4</sup> That last brief sentence is characteristic of Rossa's narrative. He says little or nothing about the business transacted or

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4 *United Irishman* 11 February 1899.



about the strength or military resources of the organisation in the locality. Rossa must have met and known a good many men in Breifne. It is interesting to speculate what he might have to say regarding matters on the region's eastern side had he not been distracted by the proffered hospitality of his friend, Willie Henderson. This happened as he was proceeding southwards through Ulster, the year being probably 1864. Rossa writes:

I took a side car in Monaghan that day and drove into the town of Cavan, passing through Cootehill. In a field by the roadside I saw a tall monument in the centre of a potato field. I told the car driver to stop till I'd go in and look at that monument. The words graven on the stone told me it was erected to the memory of a Captain or Colonel Dawson who was killed in the Crimean war, in the year 1853. He was one of the landlords of the locality, or a landlord's son — died fighting upon a foreign land for the 'expansion' of England; pity we cannot have such men fighting for the freedom of their own land — well, their native land!

Further on, between Cootehill and Cavan, I had from Belfast friends some words of introduction to some man whom I would meet at the house of a friend on the roadside. I met that friend; the men he employed were digging potatoes, and while the women of the house were preparing dinner for me and the car driver, I got talking to the men. They would fight for Ireland any time; that day, or any day; but they belonged to another society whose purpose, they said, was much the same as the purpose of the society I represented, and as they did not know me well enough, they would wait until they met some of the men who told me to call upon them.

In Cavan town the first man I met as the car stopped at the hotel was a Skibbereen man named Willie Henderson. He was a music teacher and had been the leader of the choir in the Protestant church of Skibbereen. He was now the leader of the choir in Cavan. He knew me well and knew what I was, and wanted to be kind to me while I was in the town; wanted me to be his guest. I saw I could not do any work here, or go to see anyone in my line of business, or have anyone come to see me, so I made up my mind immediately to run in to Dublin and 'report progress'. I told my friend I had to take the next train to Dublin. I did take the next train and arrived home all right.<sup>5</sup>

The Breifne region is instructive ground in which to view the process by which the social and national forces were welded to form the vigorous element that gave its temper and aggressiveness to the Land League a little over a decade later. It is clear enough from Rossa's narrative that the fusion was no smooth and orderly one, nor one free of risk for its promoters. For Duffy, who was dogged by ill-health, it was an extraordinary achievement.<sup>6</sup>

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6 Edward Duffy (1840-1868). I.R.B. organiser for the Province of Connaught. It may be of interest to give an outline of his career as published in *The Irish Republic* (Chicago) 22 February 1868. The sketch was supplied by his sister who was then living in Peoria, Illinois.

"Edward was born in 1840, in Ballaghaderreen, county Mayo. His father died of consumption in 1849, and some years after Edward was bound apprentice in a dry goods store in Castle-rea. After serving his time there he went to Dublin and got a situation in Pim's store, after in Cannock's. In both places all the young men loved him. Many of them afterwards he made true Irishmen of. He remained in Cannock's till after the McManus funeral. He represented Connaught there, and the scarf he wore then his mother has brought with her across the Atlantic. After that he returned to Connaught, became foreman in the house in which he served his time, and began the organising of the province. In 1861 he first sowed the good seed in his native town; but had great difficulty in the surrounding districts, as Ribbonism was rampant, and the men, thinking the Fenians did not *mean fight*, would not join Fenianism on any account. One of the leaders of Ribbonism resigned at this time, and a division was the consequence, one party calling themselves the "Pride of Erin Boys", the other "The Sons of Hibernia". Edward visited the neighbouring towns, meeting the tried and trusted of both sides. He at length succeeded in swearing in one man, ——— [James Hyland?], a national schoolmaster. This man went to work with a will, and succeeded, as he had influence with both sides. He was one of those who stood true to Edward through storm and shine, and suffered for his faithfulness to the cause.

They soon had a footing in the counties Mayo, Sligo, Roscommon and Leitrim. Many a time, as the Ribbon leaders found their ranks thinning, did they threaten the lives of Edward and the schoolmaster, and many a drubbing they escaped at fairs and markets, through various means. They were afterwards rewarded by winning over those very men to be their best friends. All this time Edward held his situation in the store, and at times got leave of absence and travelled through the province, always at his own expense. In '63 the Organisation became so large, that he could not, if he held his situation, give it the attention it required. So, in



We are enabled also, through the police reports of the time, to see the assimilation of the Ribbon society by the Fen-

the Autumn of that year, by the order of James Stephens, he gave up business, and devoted his entire time to the interest of the circles he was so proud of.

In '64 he took Stephens through the West, visiting the Circles, appointing Centers, etc. All was now in good order. The Organisation spread rapidly, and all loved him, and were willing to obey his every wish. His friend, O'Donovan (Rossa) accompanied him in April and May, '65, and all were then in high hopes, for they carried with them the promise that the year of action had come. In September, '65, came the arrests, and Stephens took Edward, Brophy and Kickham to Fairfield House (the residence of James Stephens). Brophy and Edward took the messages to and from Mr. Stephens, and many a cold night they suffered . . . . .

I forgot to say that in 1865, when travelling through Sligo as a commercial man seeking orders, he was chased by the police. They searched the house where they heard he was, and read every letter they got in the place. They thought that he had gone to Ballymote; but he went to the county Donegal, where I was living at that time. He got an introduction from a friend to some of the leaders of Ribbonism in the neighbourhood of the town of Donegal, and he went there the following day, and met several of the men he wished to see; in a cold stable, that night, gave them the explanations they required, started with them next morning to the fair of Stranorlar, and gained the sympathy of some of them, who became to my own knowledge, good workers in the cause afterwards.

In November 1865 he was first arrested, with his companions, and in the end of January, '66, he got out on bail. In March of that year, Stephens went from Ireland to Paris, and left poor Edward, in his delicate state of health, to conduct the entire business of the organisation in Ireland . . . . .

In November, 1866, word came to Edward, from England, that if he could get £300 they could release the prisoners in . . . . . [place not stated]. Edward sent my sister through the West, and she came back with a large sum. His health being so bad at this time, and having no means to keep him longer in Dublin, he intended leaving for America, and resigned in favor of a gentleman who soon after deserted his post. Edward got as far as London, and he there met Colonel Kelly, informer Massey, General Fariola, etc. etc. Kelly told him of the intended Rising in March. Edward opposed it, and went in for taking the men out of prison . . . . . When Edward could not stop the fatal and miserable rising of March, he returned to Connaught, to the men he brought into danger, and ordered them to keep quiet. On his way back to Dublin he was taken at Boyle. His trial and sentence you know all about . . . .

Edward always said he believed his mission on earth was to organise a society for Ireland's freedom. He fulfilled his

ian movement in the actual process of happening in Breifne.<sup>7</sup>

We find the police interested, for example, in the movements of Michael Golrick, described as a labourer, of Dromora [Drumroragh ?], Co. Cavan, and recently returned from America. On 18 June 1867 "the constable at Crossdorrery [Crossdoney ?] reported that he was informed that the large meeting held on Sunday, 9 June was got up by Golrick for the purpose, it is supposed, of establishing the supremacy of Fenianism over Ribbonism. Golrick is the supposed 'Centre' and is looked upon with suspicion by the farmers of the county." Golrick was arrested on 8 July 1867, removed to Mountjoy Prison and discharged, on condition of going to America, on the following 9 November. He sailed for America on 11 November.<sup>8</sup>

Other Breifne rebels included James McCaffrey, of Manorhamilton, a shopkeeper, reported by the Resident Magistrate at Manorhamilton on 3 April 1867 to have "the character of being a well-known Ribbon man". The R.M. and the Sub-Inspec-

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duty, I trust. Mother and five of us saw him in Mountjoy, a convict, in August, immediately before we left. He regretted staying so long in Ireland; but he sacrificed himself to save those whom he had brought into the Organisation . . .

Duffy died in Millbank Prison on 17 January 1868. For another account of Duffy, by John Keegan Casey, see *The Irishman* (Dublin) 5, 12 and 19 December, 1868.

- 7 In 1922, with the departure of the British government, the Fenian papers were transferred from the State Paper Office, Dublin Castle, to London. Some were returned in 1933, 1936 and 1940. (See *58th Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records and Keeper of the State Papers in Ireland* pp. 13-14, Dublin n.d. Stationery Office). In the course of their odyssey many Fenian papers were lost. A number were damaged or destroyed when the repository in which they were stored in London was flooded. Although an immense accumulation of important material has survived, there are gaps.

As a starting point to an investigation of local and regional Fenianism, there are available the official abstracts which will be found in the three large MS. volumes entitled *Abstract of Cases, Habeas Corpus Suspension Act, 1866*. Fenians who were arrested under that suspension are entered alphabetically in these, with summaries of their Fenian records and references to correspondence and other material relating to their arrest and custody. Another useful volume of reference is entitled *Fenianism — Index of Names*, a volume of over 900 pages (there are occasional blank pages) which lists leading Fenians alphabetically, sometimes with brief comment. There are also Indexes to C.S.O. Registered Papers for the Fenian period and examination of these under various headings such as Constabulary, Miscellaneous, R.M. Reports, etc., may yield useful results.

- 8 *Abstract of Cases, Habeas Corpus Suspension Act 1866*, I, 469a.



tor of Police agreed that he was "a dangerous person to be at large at present, and are strongly of the opinion that he should be detained under the S[ub] I[n]spector's] warrant". McCaffrey was arrested on 5 April 1867, and removed to Mountjoy, but because the evidence against him was defective he was allowed out on bail on 4 August 1867.<sup>9</sup>

The American connection with the revolutionary movement in Ireland is evident in Breifne as elsewhere. Timothy D. McNiff, of Ballinamore or Ardrum, who acknowledged his rank as First Lieutenant in the American Federal Army, was arrested on 12 December 1866, lodged in Carrick-on-Shannon Jail and removed on 13 June 1867, to Mountjoy Prison, Dublin. His arrest took place following a report of Mr La Touche, dated 6 December 1866, to the effect that MacNiff was a dangerous man to be at large, that "he has no occupation and associates with men of indifferent character and suspected Fenians". McNiff, says the report, is the 'Centre' and leading Fenian in Ardrum. His arrest was urged in the strongest terms. The Sub-Inspector at Ballinamore stated that McNiff was an officer in the American army, that he came to Ireland in October 1866 and when arrested had a revolver in his possession. McNiff was discharged on 18 September 1867 on condition of going to America.<sup>10</sup>

A report signed by N. Loftus Tottenham, J.P., and S. F. Carew, R.M., Manorhamilton, and dated 18 December 1866, was despatched to the Under Secretary, Dublin Castle, from An-nagh North Police Barrack, Co. Leitrim. It reads:

It appears that on the 19th November 1866 a party of men, comprising about 12 persons, formed themselves into ranks and marched along the high road singing an apparently treasonable song containing the words 'Down with the Queen' or something similar.

This took place about 11 o'clock at night after the fair at Black Lion Co. Cavan.

Ten of these men are known to us : eight of them bear fair characters, but two are notorious ruffians well-known to be deeply implicated in the Ribbon Movement. We think it right to bring these facts to the knowledge of the Government, and to state that in our opinion it would be judicious . . . . to issue warrants for the arrest and detention . . . . of the two men named Thomas Sheridan and James McManus both of Baran [Barran] in the Co. Cavan.

We think that such a proceeding would have a most

9 Abstract H C S Act, II, 2328.

10 Abstract H C S Act, II, 296B.

useful effect on this part of Cavan and North Leitrim.

A note on the report states that this was not a case for warrants under the Habeas Corpus Suspension Act but that the magistrates might prosecute for illegal drilling or seditious language if they thought they had sufficient grounds.<sup>11</sup>

Thomas Fitzsimons of Aughalion, Co. Cavan, was arrested on 9 March 1868, lodged in Cavan county jail and removed on 15 April to Mountjoy Prison. The abstract of his case reads :

S[ub] I[n]spector] Ware of Ballyjamesduff reported that on searching the house of Edward Fitzsimons he found in prisoner's desk a large correspondence from Manchester, Liverpool and several parts of Ireland and all the letters containing the same request for information as to the *state of the country*. In the house were found 'Speeches from the Dock', copies of seditious ballads and poetry, scraps from the *Irishman* and *Nation* as well as several copies of each paper. The ballads were in prisoner's handwriting. The S[ub] I[n]spector] looks on Fitzsimons as a very dangerous man, having received a first class education being intended for the priesthood, but was dismissed by the Bishop of the R.C. College, Cavan for bad conduct.

The Co. Inspector of Cavan reports that Ribbonism is gradually merging into Fenianism and Thos. Fitzsimons . . . is actively engaged in spreading it.

Hd. Constable Meagher reports that prisoner lived in Liverpool about 12 months ago and was then connected with Ribbonism . . . Is a most likely one to take a lead in the conspiracy.

Fitzsimons was discharged on bail in May 1868 in spite of a report from Sub-Inspector Ware advising against his release.<sup>12</sup>

Early in 1866 a considerable number of Fenians came over from England and Scotland, on instructions, to take part in an expected rising.<sup>13</sup> There was no rising and these men were placed in the difficult position of having to provide for themselves. We get a glimpse of two such men, located in West

11 C.S.O. Regd. Papers 1866, No. 22910.

12 Abstract H C S Act III, 51.

13 Cf. John Devoy, *Recollections* p. 113-4.

"One of the moves that Stephens made in preparation for the fight that was to have come off in 1865 was to bring a large number of men over from England and Scotland. He sent messengers to notify all those who could afford to leave, that the fight would surely take place before New Year's Day, 1866, and the response was very general . . . . Many went to their native localities and remained until all hope of action had passed. Quite a number of these men were swept into prison on the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act . . . ."



Breifne, who had arrived from Dundee. The abstract in the State Paper Office reads :

"The S[ub] I[n]spector at Drumkeeran reports that [John] McGuigan was arrested in the Post Office at Dromahaire in company with James Clarke. He stated he came from Dundee in Scotland and came to this country in the beginning of 1866.

McGuigan was reading a letter in the P[ost] O[ffice] which he tore up and burned before the Constabulary arrived.

McGuigan had a R[oman] C[atholic] prayer book and a scrap of paper with certain days and B2 farmer etc. marked on it when arrested.<sup>14</sup> [He] gave no satisfactory account of himself. He admitted that he was arrested before on a charge of Fenianism in Sligo but was discharged on entering into his own recognisances and ordered to leave the country. Since the Suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act they left Sligo and kept loitering around between Sligo and Co. Leitrim.<sup>15</sup>

James Clarke, a mason, of Dromahaire, Co. Leitrim, was arrested with McGuigan and lodged in Leitrim county jail, Carrick on Shannon. He stated they both came from Dundee at the beginning of 1866. Clarke had a postal order for £2 8s. in his possession, also part of a map of Ireland. They did not satisfactorily account for themselves, according to the police reports. Six weeks previous to this they had been arrested in Sligo on a charge of Fenianism, on which occasion they were discharged and ordered to leave the country.<sup>16</sup>

With reference to these two men, Mr S. F. Carew, R.M., stated, in a letter to the Under Secretary, Dublin Castle, dated 14 May 1866 :

They are both intelligent young men, and I have no doubt whatever that at the time of their capture they were both deeply implicated in the Fenian movement.

While in detention at Manor Hamilton they were

14 Cf. Devoy, *Recollections*, p. 64.

"The prayer book, small enough to fit in the vest pocket, was carried constantly by every Fenian empowered to swear in men. The Bible . . . was never used."

Cf. also Abstract H C S Act 1866, II, 448, with reference to Dr. Edward Power :

"a small Roman Catholic Prayer Book of the class so generally found with the Fenians was found with Power."

15 C.S.O. Registered Papers, 1866, No. 9668; Abstract H C S Act, II, 279.

16 C.S.O. Regd. Papers, 1866, No. 9083; Abstract H C S Act, I, 156, 164.

visited frequently by the Head Constable and he informed me that their conversation invariably turned upon Fenianism. It was about the time of the rumours of the Roberts invasion of Canada, and they were continually asking him and the Bridewell keeper if they thought that an exchange of prisoners would take place. While in the mountains near Dromohaire previous to their second arrest they appear to have associated only with bad and well known characters, and certainly never sought for employment.

At the same time I think it probable that if liberated on bail they would leave the country. But this does not seem to me to call for any especial mercy on the part of the executive.

The decision of Dublin Castle dated 19 May 1866 was that they be discharged on condition of returning to Scotland at once.<sup>17</sup>

Keeping their movements outside the ken of the authorities led to a constant battle of wits between the Fenians and police. The constabulary found the Fenians an elusive lot, and the subject is humorously treated by Rossa in his essay *The Fenians and the Fairies*. In Breifne as elsewhere, the police were no doubt the victims now and again of a little leg-pulling, and it is possible the following report developed out of this innocent pastime.

I received a report late on the evening of the 4th instant from Subinspector Connor of Swanlinbar Co. Cavan stating that he had heard that three persons — strangers — were to meet at the Public house of Darby McGourty of Barrane, townland of Carrickquigley, Co. Cavan (but bordering on Co. Leitrim) for the purpose of Fenian organisation and that 150 men were expected to assemble on the night of the 6th instant, last Monday. I accordingly proceeded to Blacklion, Co. Cavan, on the evening of the 6th instant, there met Subinspector Connor, who told me that an information had been sworn by a man named Patk. Dolan before Captain Birchall J.P. to precisely the same effect as to numbers, time and place as he had stated in his report to me, and that Patk. Dolan swore such a meeting would positively take place. I started from Blacklion about 6.30 p.m. so as to arrive at Darby McGourty's at 8.30 p.m. Subinspector Connor had 28 men at his disposal and with that force we advanced upon the house from different directions so as to completely surround it and when within about 30 yards from it the constabulary were halted and I, Subinspector Connor and two constables in plain



clothes, all well armed, advanced to the doors and windows of the house. On entering we found about 20 persons assembled, half the number at least being young girls and children, no strangers being present, and although every person was closely searched and the house well examined nothing of a suspicious nature was found nor anything to justify an arrest being made. I have since learned that Patk. Dolan who swore the information is in very poor circumstances and it was stated to me by Constable Rice of Kilmore station, who knows Patk. Dolan and the neighbourhood well, that he believes it was the hope of obtaining some reward that induced Dolan to swear such an information and that he had neither just nor probable grounds for doing so.

R. A. Massy R.M.<sup>18</sup>

We find Sub-Inspector J. E. French reporting from Ballinamore, Co. Leitrim, to the Constabulary Office, Dublin Castle, on 15 January 1866, that in consequence of a letter (copy supplied) received from the Government by Mr. Treston, R.M., stating that a Fenian assembly was appointed for a remote mountain rendezvous, —

I proceeded with him [i.e. Mr. Treston R.M.] and a party of police from this district, on Saturday night last, to Kelly's Lodge, in the mountains about 10 miles from this, where we remained a great part of the night, but we could observe no appearance of an assembly or meeting . . .<sup>19</sup>

The writer of the letter was discovered to be a young man in the locality. He stated it was written as a hoax. Inquiries proceeded, the result of which do not appear. Whatever it might be, midnight marches and long vigils in the mountains, yielding no result, were not bound to improve the humour of R.M.s or Constabulary.

Another man who was considered dangerous enough to be arrested was Felix Roarke [or Rourke], about whom 2nd Head Constable George Byrne writes :

I have to report that during my inquiries touching the writing of the threatening letter to H. L. Montgomery D.L. I learned that on the 27 January last [1866] (the fair day of Drumkeeran), a large number of men, some say about 80 or 100 men, were led into the town there by one Felix Roarke — formerly a publican — and Pat Guighan (the writer of the letter to Montgomery) and into the Public house of John McMorran [McMorrow] (where they drank for a considerable time) and was attended by Pat Guighan

18 C.S.O. Regd. Papers 1868, No. 304.

19 C.S.O. Regd. Papers 1866, No. 2995.

as waiter, bringing them spirits and collecting the money.

Felix Roarke was in front of the party and said to a young man named William Nixon, leave your cart, the Fenians are coming.

Pat Guighan being the person charged in my case I examined some witnesses before the Hon. Mr. Carew R.M. to show Guighan's connection with what is believed to be the Fenian Conspiracy.

On this day H. L. Montgomery, Esq., J.P., D.L., with Henry Cullen Esq. J.P. called upon me to lodge an information so far as I heard of the case — with a view that steps may be taken against Roarke, who, I have no doubt, *is taking a leading part in the Fenian Conspiracy*, — and should be placed under restraint. Since I had those witnesses examined several persons have fled from the vicinity of Drumkeeran.

I acquainted the Sub-Inspector of this matter — he is making his inquiries for a full report.

The Sub-Inspector stated :

I am strongly of the opinion that Felix Roarke should be arrested — he was in the County up to the last 2 or 3 days.

Felix Roarke was accordingly arrested on the 30th of March 1866 and detained in Carrick on Shannon jail.<sup>20</sup>

His arrest is described in the following document :

County of Leitrim

Drumkeeran 31st March 1866

Warrant to arrest — Treasonable practices.

I beg to report that on yesterday morning I received a warrant issued by His Excellency, the Lord Lieutenant, against a farmer named Felix Roarke of Ardlougher, Sub-District of Tarmon, on suspicion of being concerned in treasonable practices and on last night I proceeded with the Tarmon police to his house and arrested him.

He has been transmitted at 4 o'clock this morning to Carrick on Shannon Gaol.<sup>21</sup>

The prisoner is the person alluded to in my report of the 6th inst., of a large number of men who came to a fair in this town on the 27th January last.

J. Browne 2nd S.I.

To the Inspector General.

A memorial on behalf of Rourke was signed by three Catholic and two Protestant clergymen, to the effect that they did not believe the prisoner ever belonged to any illegal society.

<sup>20</sup> Abstract H C S Act 1866, II, 481.

<sup>21</sup> No. F831.



They offered bail on his behalf if released. He was released on bail on 28 April 1866.<sup>22</sup>

We find time and again amongst the Fenian documents in the State Paper Office records of statements denying any connection with Fenianism made by men who were obviously known by the police to be steeped in it. There is a perfectly natural explanation for this given in Joseph Denieffe's *Recollections of the Irish Revolutionary Brotherhood* (p. 121). Denieffe was under arrest and his solicitor Mr Lawless was trying to secure his release on bail. Mr Lawless handed him a paper to sign which included the statement "I am not a Fenian and never was". Denieffe, like his colleagues, could in conscience subscribe to this. He explains:—

We in Ireland were not Fenians, as we were in existence long before this romantic name was given to the American wing, by John O'Mahony, we were members of the I.R.B., so it was one of the Colonel's [O'Mahony's] whims that saved me.

We find as well numerous memorials, sometimes written by the prisoners themselves, sometimes by parties on their behalf, asking for one reason or another to be discharged on bail. In such cases they were merely making use of the conventions open to them to get out of custody, usually on the instructions of their legal adviser. Many were discharged on the explicit condition of going to America. In such cases they were invariably seen on to the boat by a policeman and the fact officially reported. A man's resolution as a Fenian may generally be gauged from the terms of hostility in which the police reports describe him.

Our next personality is not strictly speaking a Breifne man, but he appears to have had Breifne contacts and was evidently very active on the north western borders of Breifne region. He was Denis Greyson of Belleek, who was arrested on 9 March 1866. It was explained on his behalf that a sum of £54 found on him when arrested was part of the fortune brought him by his wife. He had recently married. He received much unfriendly attention from Resident Magistrate Carew, of Manorhamilton, who wrote to the Under-Secretary, Dublin Castle, on 4 April 1866 :

"Denis Greyson is suspected by me of Fenianism for the following reasons :

His connection with [Hugh] Montgomery now in Enniskillen Gaol . . .

His refusal to take prisoners charged with Fenianism towards Enniskillen (he has a licence for a post car) and

22 Abstract H C S Act 1866, II, 481.



telling the constabulary on that occasion to go to Hell . . .

His cheering up the prisoners and telling them openly that *he* would provide funds for their defence . . .

His being seen frequently with bad characters in a well-known locality in Belleek called 'the Mill' the meeting place of the disaffected of the district . . . His connection with the movement is notorious to the whole county . . . In a reference to the prisoners' defence counsel, Mr Carew states :

Of course it suits Mr. Brady, who is always retained by the accused in these cases, to say that there never has been any Fenianism in that part of Ireland but that statement is contrary to mine and that of the other magistrates of the locality.

I was very uneasy until lately about that neighbourhood and thought it quite possible that local disturbances might have arisen, but since the arrest of Greyson and Montgomery things have improved. Their liberation would be in my opinion most inadvisable . . .

The decision of Dublin Castle dated 4 June 1866 was that Greyson, who was held in custody in Enniskillen jail, should be discharged on substantial bail.<sup>23</sup> Greyson's defence counsel referred to above was Patrick Brady, Solicitor, Ballyshannon.

Other Breifne Fenians mentioned in the State Paper Office records include John Smith, of Burren, Co. Cavan, a large farmer, who was placed under arrest on 22 February 1869. "Comments of a treasonable nature" were found in his possession<sup>24</sup>; Francis O'Reilly, of Kilnaleck, Co. Cavan, described as "Fenian Centre and most troublesome"<sup>25</sup>; Bernard McDermott, a small farmer near Carrick-on-Shannon<sup>26</sup>; Arthur McDermott, described as an "extensive farmer, Butcher and Publican", who was refused a licence at Carrick on Shannon.<sup>27</sup> He may be the same Arthur McDermott as the hotel proprietor, mentioned earlier, with whom Rossa stayed in Carrick. Thomas McDermott, near Carrick on Shannon, was arrested for seditious language.<sup>28</sup> A feature of the Fenian movement in West Breifne and Boyle neighbourhood was the large number of men of the name of

23 C.S.O. Regd. Papers 1866, Nos. 6665, 10652; Abstract H C S Atc I, 482.

24 Fenianism — Index of Names p. 832. According to *Griffith's Valuation*, Union of Bawnboy, par. of Templeport, John Smith had 21a. 3r. 29p as well as bog land.

25 Fenianism — Index of Names p. 735.

26 Fenianism — Index of Names p. 613.

27 Fenianism — Index of Names p. 613.

28 Fenianism — Index of Names p. 613.

McDermott who were members of it. Rossa mentions the McDermott Roe family of Boyle as being good Fenians.

Thomas McElroy, of Bailieboro, Co. Cavan, a labourer, comes under police scrutiny. He "attends fairs and markets; keeps company with disaffected persons".<sup>29</sup> James McManus, Co. Leitrim, we find to be "implicated in drilling; arrest recommended".<sup>30</sup> Timothy McMorow, Blacklion, Co. Cavan, a publican, who served in the American war, "would it is thought be ready to further the conspiracy";<sup>31</sup> Terence McManus of Edinmore, Co. Cavan, a "former Ribbon leader" is mentioned,<sup>32</sup> so is Charles Rogers, formerly a National School Teacher and a native of Bailieboro, who was arrested under warrant of date 1 January 1868. He had previously been arrested on 6 March 1867 in Camden St, Dublin, for throwing stones at an escort conveying Fenian prisoners. He was then sentenced to a month's imprisonment, after serving which he left for America, whence he returned after some months stay, arriving back in Ireland, by way of Liverpool, on 31 December 1867, to be re-arrested almost at once. Superintendent Ryan of Dublin Castle had no doubt that he had come as emissary, but inquiries to Cootehill brought a report from Sub-Inspector Rodgers that nothing was known against the prisoner. He was discharged for America on 29 April 1868 and sailed the following day.<sup>33</sup>

Also in the official records we find mention of Father O'Reilly of Kingscourt, Co. Cavan, who is stated to have given "a disloyal address" to his congregation on 25 September 1870.<sup>34</sup>

Other men with real or suspected tendencies of disaffection towards the ruling powers have their names on the record, like J. Cassidy of Kingscourt, whose signature on a letter relating to Fenianism brought him under police observation,<sup>35</sup> John Cooney of Kilealiss, Co. Cavan, who was arrested on 13 October, 1869, for "creating a disturbance", and having on his person the Fenian oath,<sup>36</sup> Patrick McGouran of Carricknagrow, described as "leader of Hibernianism in Co. Cavan"<sup>37</sup> John Paterson of Mullagh, Co. Cavan, labourer, discharged on bail,<sup>38</sup>

29 Fenianism — Index of Names p. 615.

30 Fenianism — Index of Names p. 636.

31 Fenianism — Index of Names p. 636.

32 Fenianism — Index of Names p. 636.

33 Abstract H C S Act 1866, Vol. III, p. 1.

34 Fenianism — Index of Names, p. 735.

35 *Ibid.*, p. 104.

36 *Ibid.*, p. 149.

37 *Ibid.*, p. 624.

38 *Ibid.*, p. 745.



and Bernard Reilly, Heaney, Co. Cavan, a labourer, discharged on 25 March 1867.<sup>39</sup>

In a return of national schoolteachers, dated 8 March 1866 "arrested in Ireland for Ribbonism, sedition, or Fenianism, from the 1st of January, 1860" we find the name of Arthur Goff, of Leitrim, Co. Leitrim.<sup>40</sup>

Of the picture of Fenianism in Breifne which takes shape from these reports we could say, first of all, that the movement had a large economic basis, economic in the sense of land and security in the possession or tenancy of the soil. The Ribbonmen of the West, Midlands and North who joined forces with the Fenian movement were certainly actuated by the desire to win possession of their ancestral lands. The aristocratic John O'Leary looked on Ribbonism with something like cold disapproval. He considered it easier to turn an Orangeman into a rebel than a Ribbonman and gives us to believe that the Ribbon society was agrarian only and in no way national (*Recollections of Fenians and Fenianism* I, 66. 111-12, 132 note, II p. 27).

39 *Ibid.*, p. 772.

40 John Savage, *Fenian Heroes and Martyrs* p. 431. Boston 1868 (Donahoe).

A Leitrim supporter of O'Donovan Rossa in America was James Gilmartin of Leitrim, who owned a wholesale drapery and clothing business at 12 Lispenard Street, New York.

"I often wondered" writes Rossa (*United Irishman* 9 March 1889) why a big, rich, money-making man like him was such a good friend of mine as he often proved himself to be. Four or five years ago he sent me that advertisement of his business that you see in the *United Irishman*, and every year since he pays me a couple of hundred dollars."

Rossa found out the reason for Gilmartin's regard for him when he attended a wake of a relative of Gilmartin's. There his friend Pat Ward of Sligo and others told him of Gilmartin's career. Gilmartin

"was in the I.R.B. in Glasgow, and he knew Mike McLaughlin [a friend of Rossa's] and used to be in Mike's squad when Mike used to be drilling the men in the halls and the cellars. It is right for me to say, too, that in every effort that was made in my time in America to collect a fund to help Irish freedom any way, James Gilmartin was amongst the first and most liberal of the contributors . . ." (*United Irishman* 9 March 1889).

James Gilmartin died on 9 January 1899 in New York. The *United Irishman* 14 January 1899 states his funeral took place from his late residence 368 West 46 Street to the Church of the Holy Cross, then to Calvary cemetery. He left a widow with 12 children between ages 4 and 24.



O'Leary's judgement on this issue was not free of prejudice. The success of Ned Duffy and James Hyland in converting the Connacht Ribbonmen to the Fenian movement was complete. It would hardly have been so had the Ribbonmen not been responsive also to the promptings of nationalism. We know from his sister's account that Edward Duffy held their patriotism in high esteem.

It can be fairly inferred from these reports that the Breifne Fenians were not all actuated by agrarian or economic reasons in joining the Fenian organisation. John Smith, the large farmer of Burren, was certainly not driven into the Fenian movement by economic stress, nor was Arthur McDermott, the "extensive farmer, butcher and publican" of Carrick-on-Shannon. Neither were those two men (typical of a very great number) who had come over from Dundee to take part in the hoped-for rising. It would be fair to assume that it was the urge of patriotism, and the traditional nationalist desire for independence, that impelled them to leave their employment in Dundee and return to Ireland for a rising. It is well for us to remember that West Breifne, for all its economic stresses, was the environment which produced Seán Mac Diarmada, whose father was a Fenian.

We can also witness from these reports the fusion of the two societies, Ribbon and Fenian, the former merging into the latter. This process was probably complete for some years before the land revolution of the 1880s began. The inclusion with Connaught of Cavan, Longford and Westmeath, all Ribbon strongholds, and the assignment of this whole region to Duffy, may have accorded with a design of Fenian strategy to win over a large Ribbon territory *en bloc*. Duffy's success with the Ribbonmen resulted in a great geographical extension of the I.R.B. Frail and youthful as he was, his importance to the Fenian movement cannot be overrated. His work prepared the ground for the future success of the Land League in his area. One compares his achievement with that in a similar field of his remarkable successor Seán Mac Diarmada and there are points of resemblance between the two men.

In his *Recollections of an Irish Rebel*, published in 1929, John Devoy makes two references to the Fenian movement in the Breifne region. The first relates partly to Fenianism in its opening phase, which we may place roughly between 1858 and 1867, and partly to the state of the post-1867 movement :

The organisation was strongest in Mayo and Roscommon, but Galway, Sligo and Leitrim were poorly organised. In the reorganised movement Mayo was the best in Ireland, but Cavan was a strong rival. (p. 33)

The other relates to the state of the reorganised movement, of which Devoy made a thorough survey in 1879 when he visited Ireland secretly. He writes :

... when I visited Ireland in 1879 Mayo was one of the banner counties. It was nearly a tie between itself and Cavan, the latter county having 3500 members and Mayo over 3000. (p. 234)

That is a very large number of Fenians for Cavan. When we remember that Devoy found in the whole of Ireland at the time a compact organisation of 35,000 I.R.B. men, and when we note that one-tenth of this number was concentrated in Cavan, then we must conclude that the organisation in Cavan was in a strong and healthy state. We would hardly be wrong in assuming that a considerable number of that 3500 men must have belonged to the 1865-67 organisation. It is also likely that there were numerous and important Fenians who did not come within the ambit of police observation. Further research in the State Paper Office will certainly reveal more about the Breifne Fenians. It should be borne in mind, however, that the State Paper records show us the Fenian movement through official and government eyes only, a view which is notoriously unfriendly. Local tradition presents them to us in friendly and sympathetic terms, and it would be desirable to have the official records balanced by local sources. Therefore if local evidence or tradition of the Fenians exists in Breifne it is important that it should be preserved and recorded.

In conclusion I should like to acknowledge my debt to the Keeper of the State Papers, Breandán Mac Giolla Choille, and to his assistant, Miss Brighid McGrath. Their assistance and courtesy at all times is something which I place on record with sincere appreciation.



# The Burrowes-Hughes By-Election

by

Rev. T. P. Cunningham, D.C.L.

The County Cavan by-election of April 1855, contested by Robert Burrowes of Stradone and Henry George Hughes, a Dublin barrister, is perhaps the election that made the most lasting impression on local tradition, certainly in Burrowes's home area around Stradone. Among the reasons for its historical importance is the fact that it was the first time a Catholic came forward as a candidate in the county<sup>1</sup>, the fact that it was a by-election and thus attracted national interest, and the fact that it was a close fight — easily the closest of all the nineteenth century elections in the county.

The election was occasioned by the resignation of Sir John Young. He had been M.P. for the county since 1831 and on the formation of the Aberdeen ministry in December 1852 he was appointed Chief Secretary for Ireland.<sup>2</sup> He held this post until 1855 when a cabinet re-shuffle on 22 February necessitated the recall of Earl St Germans from his post as Lord Lieutenant for Ireland. Sir John Young thereupon resigned from parliament and was made governor of the Ionian Islands, thereby creating a vacancy of one seat in the co. Cavan constituency, the other seat being held by Captain James Pierce Maxwell.<sup>3</sup>

A word about politics and parties at that time. The political event that overshadowed everything else was the Crimean War. Just one year earlier England and France had declared war on Russia, and already, with the battles of the Alma and Balaclava

1 Twenty-four years earlier, in the general election of May 1831, Mr William O'Reilly with an address at 135 Dorset St, Dublin, came forward as a candidate for co. Cavan in opposition to John Young and Henry Maxwell, but he withdrew in favour of Robert Henry Southwell (*D. Evening Post*, 12, 14 May 1831). O'Reilly was a Catholic (see *Breifne*, 1962, p. 42).

2 Ironically as Chief Secretary he had to advise the Lord Lieutenant on the petitions forwarded from Cavan in 1853 for the release from prison of Zachariah Wallace editor of the *Anglo-Celt*, a newspaper that owed its origin to his ideas.

3 In April 1855, Maxwell was promoted to the rank of brevet Major in the 50th Regiment, and in May to the rank of brevet Lieutenant-Colonel. He had served in the Crimean campaign until wounded and returned home in January 1855.

(with the Charge of the Light Brigade) behind them, the combined armies were carrying out the lengthy siege of Sebastopol. Although the war was popular, there was wide criticism of the government's conduct of the war when accounts reached home of heavy casualties and of the disease and distress of the troops.<sup>4</sup> The government was a Liberal-Peelite coalition, the opposition being led by the Conservatives under Lord Derby. A third party in the House of Commons was the Irish "Independent Opposition" party led by Charles Gavan Duffy, Frederick Lucas, George H. Moore and, less devotedly, Dr John Gray of the *Freeman's Journal*.

The "Independent Opposition" party had been formed after the 1852 general election "to hold themselves independent of and in opposition to all governments which do not make it a part of their policy and a cabinet question to give Irish tenants a measure fully embodying the principles of Sharman Crawford's bill" (i.e. tenant-right).<sup>5</sup> After the defection from the party in December, 1852, of Sadlier and Keogh, the party and its followers in the country became increasingly sensitive to any indication of support for either of the large parties, but especially for the Liberals who were in power and whose policies could be backed in Ireland, it was claimed, only by those who like Sadlier and Keogh sought appointment to government offices. By 1855 the popularity of the Independent Opposition party had declined but it was still influential especially in the press where Gavan Duffy's *Nation* was its champion.

### SELECTING CANDIDATES

Two days after Sir John Young announced his resignation, the Conservative newspaper, *The Daily Express*, informed its readers that Henry Cavendish Butler would be the choice of the Conservative party in co. Cavan to contest the by-election.<sup>6</sup> His election address, dated 24 February, was published on 26 February.<sup>7</sup> He stated that he came forward on sound conservative principles, that he had been resident for several years in co. Cavan and that in the matter of tenant-right he referred voters to the tenants of the Lanesborough estates which he had managed for five years under the Court of Chancery. This was the man who was talked of in 1852 as a possible opponent of Sir John Young in the general election because of Young's support

4 Cf. Cecil Woodham-Smith, *The Reason Why; Anglo-Celt* (hereafter cited as AC), 25 January 1855.

5 J. H. Whyte, *Independent Irish Party*, p. 88.

6 *Daily Express* (hereafter cited as DE), 24 February.

7 DE, 26 February; AC, 1 March.



of Sir Robert Peel;<sup>8</sup> he had been high-sheriff of co. Cavan in 1848, and was a well-known die-hard conservative.<sup>9</sup> Despite the claim of the *Daily Express*, Cavendish Butler was not the choice of all the conservatives in the county. On 27 February the election address of the Honourable Hugh Annesley appeared.<sup>10</sup>

Hugh Annesley was the brother and heir presumptive to Earl Annesley of Castlewella, co. Down. A young man of 24, he had served with the Scots Fusilier Guards in the Crimea where he was wounded at the battle of the Alma;<sup>11</sup> returning to Ireland he resided with his aunt, the wife of William Humphrys, at Ballyhaise House from which he issued his election address. In it he stated that he had good conservative principles, that he would give "warm but independent support" to the policies of Lord Derby without however embarrassing the present government's war effort, and he would give cordial welcome to any bill that had for its object the equitable adjustment of the relations between landlord and tenant. The Annesley name, with the Earl's large number of tenants in the county,<sup>12</sup> was undoubtedly a great attraction to the Conservative party, but in some quarters his candidature was regarded with suspicion because it was thought that his policies were somewhat similar to those of the Peelite Sir John Young.<sup>13</sup> Although Annesley's challenge could not therefore be ignored by the true-blue conservatives who supported Cavendish Butler, they could redeem the situation by finding another candidate by way of compromise. This in fact is what was done.

A committee of the Cavan Grand Jury under the chairmanship of Samuel Moore met towards the end of February and communicated with Robert Burrowes of Stradone who happened to be in Paris<sup>14</sup> and received his consent to being put forward

8 See *Breifne*, 1966, p. 109. Henry Cavendish Butler (1811-1891) lived at Innisrath, co. Fermanagh, but during his management of the Lanesborough estate he lived at the Earl of Lanesborough's house at Lanesborough Lodge, Belturbet. He was brother of the Fifth Earl and uncle of the Sixth Earl Lanesborough.

9 "Few men are nearer the true Conservative type than Henry Cavendish Butler" (*DE*, 2 March). Cf. *DE*, 27 February.

10 *AC*, 1 March.

11 *Weekly Telegraph*, 21 October, 1854. His brother Robert J. Annesley died of cholera in the Black Sea on 28 September 1854.

12 In 1876 Earl Annesley had an estate of over 24,000 acres in co. Cavan, whereas that of the Earl of Lanesborough was just under 8,000 acres.

13 *DE*, 2 March 1855.

14 No reason for his visit is given. His daughter died at Boulogne on 4 September 1854.

as a candidate. Accordingly a notice was issued to the electors from a further meeting of this committee on 2 March to the effect that Cavendish Butler and Annesley had withdrawn in favour of Robert Burrowes who was shortly expected back from France. The notice lauded Burrowes as a magistrate, a landlord, a poor law guardian, a grand juror and a politician.<sup>15</sup> Before he arrived home a rumour arose that he would not stand, whereupon Annesley again addressed the public in a placard to the effect that he would renew his canvass if Burrowes declined the honour.<sup>16</sup> But on 10 March Burrowes issued his election address from Stradone House.<sup>17</sup>

Robert Burrowes, then 45 years old, was the eldest son of Major Thomas Burrowes of Stradone; on the death of his father in 1836 he had succeeded to the Burrowes' property and estate of over 9,500 acres.<sup>18</sup> It was alleged at one time that he was an Orangeman<sup>19</sup> but it seems true to say that he was always moderate in politics, albeit a conservative. He was well-known and popular, certainly in the Cavan area, for his work in connection with the poor law Union and in fact held the chairmanship of the Cavan Board of Guardians continuously for many years. Tradition, as well as contemporary evidence, gives him credit as a good landlord, but this virtue did not go unchallenged during the election campaign. Honest, straightforward and unambitious, he appeared to be an ideal choice for the conservatives even though he lacked colour, personality and eloquence.<sup>20</sup>

Meanwhile the other parties had not been idle. It might be expected that the Independent Opposition party (and the Irish

15 AC, 8 March 1855.

16 Ibid.

17 *Freeman's Journal*, 12 March.

18 His brother, James Edward, had married Mary Anne Nesbitt of Lismore Castle, Crossdoney, in 1854, and lived at Lisnamandra. Samuel Moore, chairman of the Grand Jury Committee which became Burrowes's election committee, was a first cousin of Mary Anne Nesbitt. Moore, who inherited the Moynehall estate from his father in 1848, lived for a time at Kilnacrott, but in 1855 seems to have been resident at The Rocks, Crossdoney.

19 "The next speaker was Mr Burrowes, a very young man whose father went off to Swanlinbar 'out of the way'; he could not string two sentences together" (*Freeman's Journal*, 24 September 1834, reporting an Orange meeting in Cavan on 22 September).

20 Opposition propaganda during the election campaign alleged that the Conservatives regretted bringing Burrowes forward "as he is by no means popular in the county" (*FJ*, 26 March 1855, from a correspondent in Ballyjamesduff) and that he was dominated by the Orange 'No Popery' party that sponsored him (*FJ*, 5 April).



Tenant League) would form the chief opposition. But apart from criticism of the eventual choice of Hughes and some support for Burrowes from the organ of the party,<sup>21</sup> little or nothing was done about putting forward a candidate. Let Zachariah Wallace, editor and proprietor of the *Anglo-Celt* give the picture :

The *Nation* . . . reflected upon the "tenant-righters" of Cavan in general . . . As to that my answer is brief. There were only three members of the Tenant League in this county — I believe I was one of the first and I have not since swerved from my principles;<sup>22</sup> another was the Rev. M. M'Quaid, the eloquent and worthily popular P.P. then of Killeshandra and now of Bailieborough; the third was the excellent landlord and amiable friend, Mr Anthony O'Reilly of Baltrasna. I myself from my numerous entanglements was not in a position to contest the county, nor was the Rev. M. M'Quaid, as almost everyone knows that there is a law against priest or minister being returned as a member of the House of Commons. Consequently communications were opened with Mr O'Reilly, who was then in France, and a better or more honest representative we could not have and one eminently deserving of the support of the Cavan electors . . . I deemed Mr O'Reilly's claims to the representation of this county as paramount. He, however, did not come forward.<sup>23</sup>

O'Reilly never published his reasons for not entering the contest. It may be conjectured, however, that the main reason was connected with family troubles which demanded his attention at that period. He was in France before and during most of the campaign,<sup>24</sup> presumably to be near his only son, James William Fortescue O'Reilly, who was in poor health and who in fact died in Paris on 2 June 1855 at the age of fourteen.<sup>25</sup> Of the attitudes of the three members of the Tenant League named by Wallace, both the Rev. Matthew M'Quaid and Anthony O'Reilly announced their support for Hughes as against Burrowes,<sup>26</sup>

21 *Nation*, 31 March, 7 April, 14 April.

22 Cf. AC, 18 January 1855, where there is a leader on tenant-right and independent opposition.

23 AC, 24 May 1855 (a leader signed personally by Wallace vindicating himself and Cavan liberals against attacks in the *Nation* and other newspapers).

24 AC, 5 April (letter from O'Reilly to Wallace dated Baltrasna, 30 March, stating : "I have just arrived from Paris on private business for a short time").

25 AC, 7 June.

26 The Rev. M. McQuaid was chairman of Hughes's Bailieborough local committee (AC 22 March) and Anthony O'Reilly wrote on 30 March that he would not directly or indirectly urge or in-

while Wallace himself professed neutrality by opening the columns of the *Anglo-Celt* to both sides, a policy which in effect greatly favoured Hughes.<sup>27</sup>

There was one man associated with the tenant-right movement anxious to go forward. He was Hercules Ellis, the defeated tenant-right candidate in the county Cavan general election of 1852, now as then practising as a barrister in Dublin.<sup>28</sup> He was not a member of the Irish Tenant League or of the Independent Opposition party but he had won the esteem of many in co. Cavan for his conduct in 1852. Some time before Sir John Young's resignation was made official, Ellis published his election address.<sup>29</sup> Unlike his 1852 address, this concentrated on tenant right; on other topics he merely stated that the electors already knew his opinions. During his canvass which he began on 19 February he elaborated on his policies. He arrived in Cootehill on 19 February — Cootehill had been the main centre of his strength in the 1852 campaign — and "went through all the houses in the town" getting a very satisfactory reception; in the evening he addressed a number of electors and others in McPartlan's hotel.<sup>30</sup> On 27 February he held a meeting with "a large number of friends and supporters" in the Globe hotel in Cavan; he told them he stood for civil and religious liberty, the vote by ballot and tenant-right; he received promises of strenuous support in his candidature.<sup>31</sup> At this meeting as at the one in Cootehill a club was formed to forward Ellis's claims. He was in Ballyjamesduff on 1 March, in Arva on 2 March and in Bailieborough on 5 March; clubs were established in each of these towns too and resolutions passed pledging him support.<sup>32</sup> The

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fluence any one of his tenants, but that he himself would vote for Hughes if he were in the country (AC, 5 April).

27 Wallace stated his paper's neutrality on 8 March and again on 24 May, but in fact almost all notices of meetings and letters published were for Hughes.

28 See *Breifne*, 1966, pp. 109-110.

29 AC, 1 March 1855. It is dated 12 February 1855.

30 DE, 24 February, quoting the AC whose issues for February are missing from the British Museum Newspaper Library at Colindale. On this date the DE also quoted from the AC the news that in Cavan "every lake, bog and river in the county was so frozen that people think as little of crossing them as of passing from one side of the road to the other".

31 AC 1 March.

32 AC, 8 March. The only name mentioned for the Arva meeting was that of William Norton, Esq. Bailieboro' names included John Ward, Rev. M. McQuaid, Joseph Clarke, M.D., John Farrelly (the meeting was in Farrelly's hotel). For Ballyjamesduff, the names were Dr Kelly, Rev. Nicholas Conaty, John Duffy,



Ballyjamesduff meeting in Mrs Brady's hotel was preceded by canvassing and celebrations on his arrival — "the streets were resplendent with tar-barrels and other such materials for a good blaze." In spite of this good beginning, Ellis's campaign soon petered out. No further meetings are reported and there was some criticism of him in letters appearing in the *Anglo-Celt*.<sup>33</sup> It was alleged in particular that he was not explicit enough about his views on matters other than tenant-right. It is likely however that his comparatively poor showing in the 1852 election led the opponents of Burrows to look elsewhere for a candidate of more universal appeal.

An attempt was made by some Cavan liberals in early March to get Henry Grattan to stand for the county. A deputation visited him in Wicklow but he declined, giving his reason in a letter published on 8 March.<sup>34</sup> It is the letter of an old man disillusioned with imperial politics — "honest British ears are not open to honest Irish advisers".<sup>35</sup>

There was already another candidate in the field. Henry George Hughes, who had been solicitor-general for Ireland from 1850 to 1852 under the Liberal government of Lord John Russell, and who was now continuing a lucrative Queen's-counsel practice in the courts of Chancery, appeared in Cavan town on 2 March and with his agents immediately set about a canvass of the town.<sup>36</sup> His election address was published from Fitzwilliam St, Dublin on 3 March. In it he stated that justice demanded that at least one of the representatives of the county should have the confidence of the Liberals of the county, that he advocated civil and religious liberty and religious equality as a right for Catholics, and that he would exert himself to procure

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John Brady, John Reilly, James Smith, P. Reilly, Stephen Toole, Peter Murphy, H. Gaffney. John Duffy later apparently disassociated himself from the resolutions (AC 22 March).

33 AC, 15 March (the writer under the name "Tenant-Righter" — possibly James Fay — also asserted that the Cavan conservatives were already more than adequately represented in parliament by Lord Farnham, Earl Lanesborough, Marquis of Headford, the Bishop of Kilmore and Ardagh, and J. P. Maxwell, M.P.).

34 *Freeman's Journal*, 12 March; AC, 8 March.

35 The AC (15 March) commented "British ears should not be allowed to get away with it". Grattan was sixty-six years old in 1855 (cf. *Breifne*, 1962, p. 10).

36 AC 8 March. Henry George Hughes (1810-72) was born in Dublin; his grandfather had been a tenant in co. Longford. He entered Trinity College in 1825, was called to the Bar in 1834, and made Queen's Counsel in 1844. Later he became Baron of the Exchequer in 1859.

an Act that would give substantial security to the tenants.<sup>37</sup> There is no clear indication how Hughes was introduced to the county, but I think a guess can be made that the man responsible was James Fay, a prominent and wealthy Cavan businessman, a guess based on the fact that Fay became chairman of Hughes's central election committee.<sup>38</sup> Tradition however assigns the choice of Hughes to the advice of Sir John Young.<sup>39</sup> Hughes was not unknown in the Gowna area of the county : he was landlord of six townlands there and had a residence across Gowna lake at Cornadung in co. Longford. He was an able and clever man with great eloquence and drive.

Would the appearance of Hughes, when Ellis already had been promised support, split the liberal and tenant-right interests and so lead to a defeat similar to that sustained in 1852? Calls for the withdrawal of one or other of them were raised early in the campaign and soon it became apparent that Hughes had a better chance.<sup>40</sup> A meeting of the Belturbet Electoral Liberal Committee at Belturbet on 14 March resolved to support Hughes although it included some of those who in 1852 had been behind Ellis.<sup>41</sup> The crucial meeting took place in Cavan on 15 March. It was described as "a meeting of the general committee convened to secure the electoral independence of the

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37 *Freeman's Journal*, 6 March; AC, 8 March. In a later election notice Hughes pledged that he would vote for a Bill that would secure to the tenant the full enjoyment of his improvements, and that in the absence of any better remedy he would vote for the Bill recently introduced by Sergeant Shee (i.e. a modification of Sharman Crawford's Bill) (AC 15 March).

38 Since James Fay was, after the candidates, the most prominent man of the election events, it is well to give some account of him at this stage. He was born, probably in Ballyhaise, in 1801, the son of John Fay of Ballyhaise (shopkeeper, chandler and baker) and Mary Brady; he settled in Cavan town probably about 1830 (he was certainly there in 1846) and built up a big business (highest valuation in the town in 1857) in the premises later owned by Sodens and Providers Ltd. Late in the 1850s he bought the manor of Moynehall — before then he was landlord of some 4,000 acres in the county. He died in 1863 and was buried at Castletara. His half-brother Thomas had a business in Cootehill and later acquired the property of Faybro'k, Tullyvin; Thomas's daughter Marianne married Philip Smith of Artonagh in 1855.

39 Information given me by the late Michael Mulligan of Lavey.

40 *Freeman's Journal*, 6 March; AC, 15 March.

41 AC, 15 March. The only names published from this meeting were those of Thomas Conaty (brother of Rev. Nicholas Conaty, P.P. Castlerahan), Mr Donegan, Thomas Phillips, Peter Donnelly, Rev. Father Gilroy, Dr Donovan, Rev. Patrick O'Reilly, P.P. Drumlane.



county" and was composed of some liberals who supported Hughes and some who formerly were champions of Ellis. Only three resolutions from this meeting were published : one requested Ellis to withdraw in order to secure unanimity, a second of gratitude to Ellis for having withdrawn and a third promising Ellis support in any future contest.<sup>42</sup> Unfortunately the meeting was held in private so that there are no reports in the newspapers of opinions and discussions. But whatever transpired there, the result effectively sealed the threatened split. John Ward of Kilcrossduff, one of Ellis's foremost supporters, wrote the following letter from Shercock on 18 March to Wallace of the *Anglo-Celt* :

Your last issue and a private letter from Hercules Ellis to me this morning inform me that Ellis has withdrawn in order not to embarrass the liberal electors or endanger the success of the tenant-right cause. Since I knew that Ellis had been sincere on tenant-right, his present action is the surest criterion of his political honesty. About Mr Hughes's candidature, all tenant-righters and liberals should rally round. He has against him vast local landlord and aristocratic influence and rooted prejudices. No candidate has ever made such rapid progress in canvassing this county with his staff of active, enterprising and efficient agents . . . What will the 727 voters of 1852 do? They should assemble early on the first day and vote for Hughes. We, the gallant 727 have the timid to encourage; let us vote with the number 727 on our hats . . .<sup>43</sup>

There were, however, some complaints and at least one notable defection.<sup>44</sup> Mr Ellis himself wrote from Lisnaroe, Clones, on 28 March to assure his followers :

Some of my friends are annoyed at the decision made by the united committee of the independent party of Cavan and some wish to absent themselves from the polls. But victory is almost always the fruit of self-sacrifice. On the day of the polling I shall be at my post and meet everyone of my fellow labourers in the cause of freedom.<sup>45</sup>

42 AC, 15 March; *Freeman's Journal*, 20 March. Again the names of participants are few : Edward Kennedy, Mr McPartland, Mr Fay, Dr Kelly, Rev. Mr O'Reilly, Francis McCabe, Rev. Thomas Brady, P.P., Ballyhaise (moved from Drung to Ballyhaise in June 1854).

43 AC, 22 March. 727 was the number of votes Hercules Ellis received in 1852.

44 The Rev. W. P. Moore, who was Ellis's proposer in 1852, this time supported Burrowes. Cf. AC 5 April, 12 April.

45 AC, 29 March.

The stage was now set for a straight fight between Robert Burrowes on the conservative side and Henry George Hughes on the liberal tenant-right side.

### ELECTION ISSUES

The main issue as in 1852 was tenant-right — it was an aspect of the big land question in Ireland from the time of the Famine until the Land Acts of the end of the century. Many tenant-right bills had been brought before parliament but none had reached the statute-book; in particular Sharman Crawford's numerous bills embodying the aims of the Irish Tenant League had failed and so also had Sergeant Shee's efforts.<sup>46</sup> In essence those bills were trying to get fair rents and compensation for improvements for tenants.<sup>47</sup>

Burrowes's election address touched on tenant-right, but was vague :

Although I will not adopt the cry of tenant-right as a delusive electioneering device, still the tenant shall always find in me a friend anxious to promote his interests — to secure for him a fair remuneration for the capital and labour he may have expended in the improvement of his farm, and at the same time I will not consent to make extravagant promises which can never be realised.<sup>48</sup>

Burrowes could and did point to the recognition of the Ulster Custom on his own estate and to the fact that he was a good landlord,<sup>49</sup> but could he speak for the party which brought him forward? With the *Daily Express* calling tenant-right "Romish right" and speaking of the "claptrap" of tenant-right,<sup>50</sup> and the *Evening Mail* saying explicitly that

It is simply impossible that a man possessing property and understanding the rules of justice could be a serious advocate of so absurd a delusion as what is called tenant-right,<sup>51</sup>

Burrowes just had to be vague and ambiguous. He could and did put emphasis on his own independence, that he was not the nominee of any party, and on the fact that the conservative party in its short period of office in the autumn of 1852 had actually introduced a satisfactory tenant-right measure — the

46 See J. H. Whyte, *The Independent Irish Party*.

47 *Breifne*, 1966, p. 113.

48 *Freeman's Journal*, 12 March.

49 *AC*, 5 April (letter from James McCullom, Drumhose, Cootehill, that he had been paid for improvements); *AC*, 12 April.

50 *DE*, 3 March, 23 March.

51 *Evening Mail*, 4 April.

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Napier Bill.<sup>52</sup> Yet the feeling of ambivalence remained, and this was not dispelled by a statement of his proposer (the Rev. Francis Saunderson) on nomination day that his opponents' bringing the issue forward was "simply a sham and a humbug".<sup>53</sup> If Burrowes relied on his record as a good landlord, he was open to the accusation contained in the following letter published late in the campaign :

You all remember the year 1840 in the townland of Cornasaus. In that year this townland by the demise of Thomas Brady (Tommy Mathias) fell in under the immediate proprietorship of your "upright magistrate and considerate landlord". The incubus of the middleman was thrown off and the tenants rejoiced. But they awoke to their plight. Thomas Fitzpatrick, Widow Fitzpatrick, Pat Fitzpatrick, Bernard Soraghan, James Soraghan, Pat Soraghan, Widow Clarke, Pat Reilly, Thomas Reilly, Widow Reilly, Philip McMahon, Thomas McCann, Patrick McCann, Owen Shalvey and others were summarily evicted and their lands and houses given to three "utter strangers",<sup>54</sup> namely, Hugh McFadden, Robert Hicks and Joe McFadden. Three large farms were made of the lot but he did allow two or three of the evicted to occupy sour gussets of land. The two senior Soraghans were squeezed into one small farm and Joe McFadden got £40 for it. We hear of his reduction of rents : the fact is that the few shillings he took off are back on again.<sup>55</sup>

There is no other mention of the Cornasaus episode.<sup>56</sup> Undoubtedly such "clearances" were practised, and a landlord

52 AC, 12 April; Whyte, *op. cit.*, pp. 94-5.

53 AC, 12 April.

54 Allusion to a description of Hughes by Burrowes and others.

55 AC, 5 April, under the heading 'Notice to the Liberal Electors of Corravogy Estate (Burrowes's) from James Fitzpatrick, Mountain Lodge, Tullyvin'. Mr Fitzpatrick made this further point of interest : "His (Robert's) father Mr Tom Burrowes, who in 1826 locked up his forty-shilling freeholders lest they vote for emancipation, was a constitutional lawyer in comparison to Robert; for when we broke the portals of the yard until they recorded their votes, he did not take proceedings against any". This throws light on a puzzling incident. See *Breifne*, 1962, pp. 27-28. Cornasaus is in the parish of Kill and was owned by Robert Burrowes.

56 Of the thirteen farms in Cornasaus in 1857 (Griffith's Valuation), seven comprising in all 65 acres were held by McMahon, Sorahan, Sorahan, McCann, McDonnell, Reilly and Clarke, while six comprising nearly 250 acres were held by Vogan, Vogan, Hicks, McFadden, Byrne and Patterson.

could still keep the name of being considerate if he did not make a habit of it. All in all, Burrowes's record as a landlord seems to have been a good one.

Hughes, of course, put tenant-right in the forefront of his programme. The liberal party to which he subscribed had not a good record on tenant-right, but it was the opinion of many that tenant-right would be far more likely to be granted by the liberals than by a party supported by Irish landlords.<sup>57</sup> But Hughes brought to the cause of tenant-right the advocacy of a keen and eloquent legal mind. Remarking that he had no paternal relative in Longford who was not a tenant farmer, he set forth the need for tenant-right :

Tenant-right is neither a sham nor a delusion. It is a vital question involving deeply and seriously your interests, I may say, your very existence . . . A man takes land at 10s an acre. Some one casts his eye upon the farm and offers a higher rent. The agent or perhaps the landlord himself thinks that a higher rent ought to be paid. The man who increased the value of the land is called on to pay that higher rent; if he refuses, he is served with notice to quit, and if he does not submit he is ejected. Law should recognise the right of the landlord to his rent and land, but to that land in the condition in which it was when he gave it to the tenant, or if he insists on the land in its improved state, he should pay the tenant for his interest in it. Will Mr Burrowes avow this? Will he recognise the right of the tenant to his farm at its enhanced value and ask nothing but the rent received originally . . . The principle for which we are contending would give you perpetuity in your holdings . . . I say that Sergeant Shee's Bill is but an instalment of justice to you, but I pledge myself to support it for want of a better, and not merely to vote for but to sustain it by my best advocacy.<sup>58</sup>

Dr Gray of the *Freeman's Journal* and the Independent Opposition party commented that Hughes put the case well and "though we have had more quarrels than one with him, on the issue of tenant-right all our influence is for him."<sup>59</sup>

The next issue was the National Education System. It was injected to the contest by two letters published on 22 March.<sup>60</sup> One from 'a liberal elector' stated that Burrowes was opposed to the system of National Education, the other from a Cavan elector to Protestant electors that Burrowes was a supporter of

57 Whyte, *op. cit.*, pp. 97-8.

58 AC, 12 April (speech on Nomination day).

59 *Freeman's Journal*, 29 March; 10 April.

60 AC, 22 March



National Education. This last letter had to be contradicted : Burrowes did not support National Education but the Church Education Society.<sup>61</sup> The liberals pounced on this revelation : Burrowes was called a "souper" who yet sought liberal support.<sup>62</sup> The facts were brought out on Nomination day. Burrowes in the course of his speech said :

I have long felt that no system [of education] could be a proper one in which the Scriptures were not made a primary object and from which the Bible was excluded . . . On that ground I object to the National Education System and I will certainly vote for an inquiry into that system with a view to see how far the original rule has been changed and with a view also to such modification as would admit the Scriptures to members of the Established Church.<sup>63</sup>

Hughes in reply said he advocated and had always supported the National Education System and went on :

According to the last report of the Commissioners, there are in this county alone 173 National Schools under the Board attended by over 15,000 children whose minds are instructed while their faith is untouched . . . Are these 173 schools to be shut up? Will you by electing Mr Burrowes who would close them declare your disapproval and condemnation of the system? Are the 15,000 to be left without means of education . . . unless indeed they are to receive instruction from the enemies of their faith? On the first townland I ever purchased I built two national schools in which since 1849 there has been a regular attendance of 120 children; on another land I enlarged and improved a third schoolhouse. Mr Burrowes is the hereditary owner of large estates in this county and I here ask him has he a single National School upon them all. I am told he has not and further that he has refused a site for one . . .

Mr. Burrowes : I have schools under the Church Education Society to which I subscribe.

Mr. Hughes : I am right : there is not a school under the National system on all his property . . . to the schools of the Church Education Society no Roman Catholic could send his children to be educated.<sup>64</sup>

Another issue was that of civil and religious liberty, which meant the equality of Catholic and Protestant before the law.

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61 AC, 5 April.

62 *Freeman's Journal*, 5 April.

63 AC, 12 April (speech on Nomination day).

64 Ibid. In Griffith's Valuation, I notice one National School on Burrowes property, a miserable one at Cornasaus.

Burrowes's position on this was typical of most conservatives of his time — resistance to any change in the status or revenues of the Established Church, while at the same time acknowledging full civil and religious liberty to Catholics.<sup>65</sup> But Hughes, strangely enough, was somewhat vulnerable on this issue. For he had held office as solicitor-general in Ireland in 1850 and 1851 under Lord Russell's government which passed the Ecclesiastical Titles Act prohibiting Catholic bishops from assuming territorial titles in the United Kingdom, and some of the odium earned in Ireland by Lord Russell for that act inevitably rubbed off on those who had not resigned in protest.<sup>66</sup> There is some evidence that this issue turned some Catholics of the county against him but in so far as it is direct evidence it is of doubtful authenticity. The *Evening Mail* highlighted a letter purporting to have been written by the Rev. Terence O'Reilly, P.P., Drumgoon, at Lisawaum, to Hughes in March to this effect :

I got your letter enumerating your virtues but you forgot to say whether you be the Hughes who held office under the government of the Ecclesiastical Titles Act. If so, I will not vote or support you. I would rather support a straight Orangeman than a time-serving place-seeking *Cawtholic*.<sup>67</sup>

On its face this letter does not appear genuine.<sup>68</sup> This much, however, is true : the Rev. Terence O'Reilly who had been so prominent in the campaign for Ellis in 1852 did not attend Hughes's meeting at Cootehill on 19 March or the gathering of Hughes's supporters on Nomination day. At any rate the *Mail* commented that the letter was not typical of the attitude of the Cavan priests. In his speech on Nomination day Hughes had to face the criticism of his past conduct. Having repeated that he stood for full civil and religious liberty, that he asked for equality for Catholics as their right, he referred to the Ecclesiastical Titles Act and asserted :

I have the sanction of the revered Roman Catholic Bishop of this diocese and of his clergy for addressing you from this husting; they know all the facts connected with that measure and, knowing those facts, they approve of my con-

65 Ibid. The question of disendowment of the Established Church had already come before Parliament.

66 Whyte, *op. cit.*, p. 99.

67 *Evening Mail*, 9 April.

68 How could a letter from a Catholic priest to a Catholic candidate get into the hands of the Orange-tinted *Mail*? The spelling "Cawtholic" looks like aristocratic contempt.

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It is true, as shall be seen, that Hughes had the support of Dr Browne of Kilmore and his clergy.

An associated issue was that of place-seeking. Again this was an issue Hughes rather than Burrowes was called on to face. Burrowes was not ambitious and had no personal advantage to seek through his election. Hughes commented rather sharply on this when he said that there was no fear that Burrowes would be made a judge as he was better suited to the Boardroom of the Workhouse.<sup>70</sup> But it was widely alleged that Hughes was seeking a seat in parliament as a step to a judgeship. This was the main burden of Gavan Duffy's criticism of him, since to the Independent Opposition party after Sadlier and Keogh, place-seeking was *the* political crime. Gavan Duffy wrote:

We believe Mr Hughes to belong to the very worst class of candidate that it is possible for the ingenuity of a County Committee to discover. He is going into parliament simply and solely for the purpose of selling himself . . . He is one of the very worst class of candidates for a Catholic constituency. . . The election of Hughes will mean no triumph of public principle. It will merely mean a step towards the Bench.<sup>71</sup>

Burrowes did not directly accuse his opponent of place-seeking, but such accusation seemed to be the clear implication of his repeated reference to him as an "utter stranger" as contrasted to himself whose every interest was identified with those of the electors of Cavan.<sup>72</sup> Hughes did not ignore this issue on Nomination day. As to his being a stranger, he pointed out that he was one of the tenant farmers by close ancestry, education and sympathy —

I have great pride in sitting by the humble tenant farmers' firesides and underneath their thatched roofs and learning from themselves their wants and their wishes, and it is in such circumstances that I learned what tenant-right was. I manage my own property and leave it not to the caprice of another . . .<sup>73</sup>

69 AC, 12 April. Hughes himself was a Catholic, though his "nearest and dearest" were members of the Established Church.

70 AC, 12 April. This was a retort to what he called Burrowes's insinuations of unworthy motives on his part: "I can also tell him (well as he knows it) that I am not a man to submit tamely to an unjust attack."

71 *Nation*, 31 March, 7 April.

72 AC, 15 March, 12 April.

73 AC, 12 April.

As to his ambition to be a judge,

I am here to promote the interests of the people of this county; if I am qualified to be a judge, I don't think the circumstance should be thrown in my face in a free country while such an office is open to all who may deserve it.<sup>74</sup>

This admission had at least the virtue of being honest. While on this point of place-seeking as opposed to public service, Burrowes himself and especially his backers made great play of his work in reducing the poor-rates and of his service for the Poor Law Union.<sup>75</sup> Against this, it was claimed that as a matter of fact the tenants of one electoral division (Tullyvin East) dare not nominate a Catholic for the office of Poor Law Guardian because of Burrowes's opposition.<sup>76</sup> Hughes made a neat debating reply on Nomination day that no tenant of his knew what poor-rates were because since 1845 he himself had paid every penny of the poor-rates levied on his eighty-three tenants.<sup>77</sup>

A final issue was the Maynooth College grant. The government paid an annual grant to the College, but especially since the grant had been increased in 1845, each year saw a determined opposition to the measure. In 1853 a commission of enquiry into the College was set up and issued its report in mid-March 1855, and Mr Spooner M.P. gave notice of motion to have the grant withdrawn. The grant was therefore news in April, 1855. Hughes of course supported the grant but what of Burrowes? An elector named Lyndon Bolton questioned him about it on Nomination day. Burrowes replied that he did not approve the grant as such but that he would not oppose it, yet he added that when he had read the report of the commission he might change his mind. Hughes remarked that it was strange Burrowes had not already read the report which had been in every newspaper for the last three weeks, and that the effect of Burrowes's reply was that Burrowes would abstain when the vote on the grant came up thus depriving Catholics of a vote they deserved.<sup>78</sup>

### THE CAMPAIGN

The conservatives opened the campaign by attacking the qualifications and, at least by implication, the honesty of Hughes. The *Daily Express* on 13 March published the following leader:

Hughes is not known, even by name perhaps, to half-a-

74 Ibid.

75 AC, 1 March, 12 April.

76 AC, 5 April (letter from John Ward, Kilcrossduff, to the electors and another letter from J. Fitzpatrick, Mountain Lodge).

77 AC, 12 April.

78 Ibid.



dozen of the constituency. He is a candidate for the representation of a county in which he does not possess as much of the *natale solum* as would entitle him to be an elector much less a candidate. Having no connexion with the county, owner of not as much ground as one lizard would cover, he can hope to succeed only by detaching the tenants from the landlords.<sup>79</sup>

When it was pointed out to them that Hughes had property in the county valued at over £600 per year and had been a magistrate there for the past eight years, the reply was that his statement challenged the utmost surprise, that he was not listed "in any capacity whatever" in Thom's Directory.<sup>80</sup> A few days later, on the strength of two anonymous letters, the *Daily Express* talked of Hughes's disguising of plain facts since, it was alleged, it turned out that he had property valued at only £353 6s. 11d. per year, that he was a magistrate only in virtue of his office and that he had never been in the county except on one solitary occasion.<sup>81</sup> These falsehoods deserved exposition and Hughes wrote personally to the *Daily Express* giving the true facts : i) he was landlord of six townlands in co. Cavan — Cormaddyduff, Drumersnaw, Knockaghy, Derries, Drumgore and Lisanny,<sup>82</sup> although the *Express* had credited him with only three, and in addition to this he had a fee-simple property in Longford; ii) he was a magistrate of every county in Ireland in virtue of his office and had acted as such in Cavan and Longford for at least four years; iii) for two months he had been on his own lands in the county Cavan each year for several years.<sup>83</sup> The *Express* printed his letter, admitted that "in dealing with the sophistries of Hughes they had inadvertently committed one or two errors of detail" but still questioned whether he had a *bona fide* qualification. James Fay characterized the conduct of the *Express* as abuse, adding "What lengths the Orange party will go to!"<sup>84</sup>

Unlike Hughes, Burrowes does not appear to have made a very extensive canvass. However there is a report of his being

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<sup>79</sup> DE, 13 March.

<sup>80</sup> DE, 16 March.

<sup>81</sup> DE, 20 March (The "plain facts" were contained in letters written to the editor by a Castlerahan Elector and a Cavan Landholder).

<sup>82</sup> These townlands lie to the north-east of Gowna stretching from where the River Erne enters Lough Gowna northwards towards Bruse hill. According to Griffith, they contained 1315 acres valued at £608-12s. *per annum*.

<sup>83</sup> DE, 24 March; *Freeman's Journal*, 24 March.

<sup>84</sup> AC, 22 March.

through Cootehill on 30 March. A liberal writer called his canvass there "very unsuccessful", but Burrowes himself was of the opposite opinion :

Being market day, many of my tenantry were present on their business and the instant they saw me they surrounded me, accompanied me on my canvass and vied with each other as to who should introduce me in the most favourable light to the electors . . .<sup>85</sup>

The conservatives relied more on the traditional method whereby landlords, their agents or bailiffs asked their own tenants to vote as directed. Since the previous year any intimidation of electors was deemed illegal,<sup>86</sup> the liberals saw in such requests a palpable form of intimidation and sought to bring instances of it to light.<sup>87</sup> John Ward, Kilcrossduff, Shercock, wrote to Wallace of the *Anglo-Celt* on 18 March about the pressure in that area :

I am aware from authentic information that intimidation has already been had recourse to on the Ruxton estate at Shercock, not in the old form of "you must" but in the milder form of exhibiting a sheet of scribbled paper which is represented to be a letter from Mr Ruxton, and requesting with a significant grin that the tenantry should vote for Burrowes. Now this property is under Chancery; does the Court sanction such proceedings? On a neighbouring estate also the bailiff went among certain of the tenantry and in the name of the agent requested support for Burrowes. This state of things must be put an end to.<sup>88</sup>

Complaints of such intimidation were numerous<sup>89</sup> and James Fay, secretary of Hughes's central committee issued and published a circular quoting the Corrupt Practices Act and applying it to landlords, their agents and bailiffs. He also published a reward of £10 for the conviction of any offender.<sup>90</sup> The conservatives replied by maintaining that the Act was directed

85 AC, 12 April. The comment about the unsuccessful canvass was made by J. Fitzpatrick of Mountain Lodge in a letter published in AC, 5 April.

86 Corrupt Practices Act, 1854 (17 & 18 Vict., Sec. 5, c. 102).

87 AC, 22 March (Shercock meeting of 20 March).

88 Ibid.

89 AC, 29 March (Bailieboro' small farmer), 5 April (general), 3 May (general, on which the editor commented : "On the whole we agree with the writer, as we ourselves are aware on good authority of certain doings in the neighbourhood of Bailieborough and other places : the latest Act has been practically evaded").

90 DE, 16 March; *Freeman's Journal*, 20 March.

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against the undue influence of the Roman Catholic priests,<sup>91</sup> and promptly doubled the reward offered for the conviction of an offender.<sup>92</sup> They also alleged instances of priestly denunciation and intimidation by "Ribbonmen".<sup>93</sup> That a landlord or anyone else ask a tenant for a vote was not of course illegal; what was illegal was the implied threat for refusal and this was too difficult to prove especially before an election. The Belturbet Liberal Electoral Committee on 26 March adopted another defence against landlord (implied) intimidation. They published a resolution passed at their meeting to the following effect :

We, tenants of Lord Lanesborough, have received with regret a letter from Mr Litton purporting to convey his lordship's sentiments on the coming election. We beg most respectfully to state in our opinion that his lordship's intentions should have been made known to us before this the eleventh hour when we have pledged ourselves to Hughes and when we feel conscientiously bound to carry out this pledge.<sup>94</sup>

The conservatives as a rule did not try to make any propaganda out of the fact that Hughes was a Catholic. But there is some evidence that locally such a factor had been introduced. 'A Presbyterian' published a letter from Cavan to the fellow-electors of his faith in which he said that wicked men were trying to excite their prejudices against Hughes as professing a different faith whereas the Presbyterians should support the liberal Catholic as against an arrogant Episcopalian.<sup>95</sup> The Rev. James Carson, Presbyterian minister at Cavan, replied that the writer had misrepresented the Presbyterian body.<sup>96</sup> Although it was reported that the Presbyterian body were in favour of Hughes,<sup>97</sup> it also appears that in some areas at least nearly all

91 *DE*, 16 March.

92 *Freeman's Journal*, 20 March.

93 *Evening Mail*, 28 March, 4 April.

94 *Freeman's Journal*, 29 March. Thomas Phillips, Peter Donnelly, John Donegan, John McHugh and Thomas Conaty (chairman) were prominent at this meeting. Conaty, it would seem, was brother of Rev. Nicholas Conaty who became Bishop of Kilmore in 1865. Thomas died in 1859 (*Catholic Telegraph*, 19 February, 1859). He was a merchant in Church Street, Belturbet.

95 *AC*, 29 March; *Freeman's Journal*, 30 March.

96 *AC*, 5 April. The Rev. Carson said the letter injured the cause of Christian union.

97 *Freeman's Journal*, 30 March (citing the case of George and John Andrews, landlords of some lands in Crosserlough and Kilbride). The Presbyterians were favourably disposed towards Lord Aberdeen, the Liberal prime minister, and Sharman Crawford, veteran champion of the Ulster tenants, came out for Hughes (*AC*, 29 March).

members of that body voted against him on election day.<sup>98</sup>

The chief feature of Hughes's campaign was its methodical organisation. John Ward early on spoke of the candidate's staff of active enterprising and efficient agents<sup>99</sup> and the *Freeman's Journal* at the close stated that the Hughes organisation was perfect.<sup>100</sup> It consisted of a central committee under the chairmanship of James Fay of Cavan and a number of local committees in the towns of the county together with some form of association with other village or rural areas.<sup>101</sup> The names of the members and associates of some of these committees were published, too few unfortunately, because there is little if any account of members in such areas as Ballyconnell, Belturbet, Drumloman, Ballinagh, where Hughes, as events proved, had strongest support.<sup>102</sup> However the lists published are as follows :

Cootehill : Thomas Fay, chairman (half-brother of James Fay, Cavan), John McGahan, Hugh Dolan, E. McNulty, secretary, Rev. Terence Brady, C.C. (Cootehill, lived in Cavan Old Road), Pat Dolan, Francis Brady, Peter Gartlan, M. Bannon, Denis Lennon, M. Connolly, P. Bourne, P. McCudden, T. Brady, H. McGrath, P. McNally, B. Markey, T. Markey, R. McParlan, J. McQuaid, Patrick Horan, jun., S. McNally. Associated : Rev. Patrick Smith, P.P. Kill, Rev. P. Fitzsimmons, C.C. (Drumhurl, Kill), Rev. Charles O'Reilly, C.C. (Drumgoon), Philip Smith (Artonagh), James Fitzpatrick (Mountain Lodge), Thomas Smith, William Morris, John Malone, Thomas McMahon.<sup>103</sup>

Shercock : Rev. James Dunne, C.C., chairman, John Ward, secretary, Michael O'Connor, Edward Hall, Peter Carolan, John Fay, Patrick Coyle, P. McKenna, T. Masterson, J. O'Reilly, Michael Lennon, Charles McComb, P. O'Reilly, P. Kearney, M. Levy, James Traynor, Patrick Callaghan, P. Smyth, E.

98 AC, 19 April quoting the *Weekly Telegraph* which mentioned the Headford and Bailieboro' estates.

99 AC, 22 March.

100 *Freeman's Journal*, 5 April.

101 Ibid.

102 Some names of those on the Belturbet committee are given above, footnote 41. Prominent names from the Ballyconnell area will be found in AC, 24 May 1855, in connection with a great tenant-right rally there on 17 May. They include Rev. Peter Magauran, P.P., Kildallan; Daniel Winslow, Sandybrook; Patrick and John Kane, Ballyconnell; Rev. Terence McGauran, C.C., Templeport; Nathaniel Maguire, Bonebrook, Bawnboy; Rev. Michael O'Reilly, Ballyconnell; Dr Brady, Ardlogher.

103 AC, 22 March. Meeting 19 March.

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Smyth, J. Reilly, John Traynor.<sup>104</sup>

Bailieboro' : Rev. Matthew McQuaid, P.P., chairman, Andrew Carroll, Patrick Clinton (Cluggah?), James Monahan, Michael Carpenter.<sup>105</sup>

Ballyjamesduff : Rev. Nicholas Conaty, P.P., chairman, John Duffy, secretary, Richard O'Reilly, Henry Gaffney, Patrick Cusack, James Smith, Thomas Murphy, James Reilly, Stephen Toole, Rev. Philip O'Reilly, Rev. Edward Lynch, John Reilly, Edward Lynch (Kilnacrot).<sup>106</sup>

Crosserlough (Kilnaleck) : Rev. Thomas O'Reilly, C.C., chairman, James Sheridan, secretary, Peter Sheridan, Andrew Galligan, Owen Smith, Matthew Boylan, jun., James Murphy, Rev. Edward Lynch, Pat Sheridan, John Smith (Tedeehan), Peter Reilly (Drumcassidy), John Leddy (Greenew), J. Conaty (Kilnaleck), Philip McGovilly(?), Hugh Coyle, Cornelius Victory (Coolkill), Philip Smith (Shannow), Owen Flood (Mullycastle), H. Smith (Kilduagh), Ed. Lynch (Kilnacrot), W. Foster (Tedeehan), John Brady, Patrick Tully, Patrick Reilly (Killanure), Michael Cooke and Brian Callaghan (Derrylogher), Thomas Cooke and Hugh McCabe (Leher), Peter Callan (Coolkill).<sup>107</sup>

In addition to these local committees, Hughes brought with him to the county a number of counsellors, agents and advisors, whose names are given as Counsellors O'Reilly, Treston, McFarlan and O'Mahoney, Messrs. Connolly, Hughes (Edward, brother of the candidate) and Dr Kelly.<sup>108</sup> These men were probably attached to his central committee and with others of that body (James Fay, Edward Kennedy) visited various towns and villages on behalf of the candidate.<sup>109</sup> Hughes himself paid a visit to many of the towns too : he was in Cootehill on 19 March to address a meeting in McPartlan's hotel;<sup>110</sup> he held an open-air meeting in Ballyjamesduff on 23 March :

Mr Hughes made his entry into this town today. Large

104 Ibid. Meeting 20 March.

105 Ibid. Meeting 21 March in Farrelly's hotel. A Patrick Clinton had property in Main St., Bailieboro.

106 AC, 29 March. Meeting 23 March in Brady's hotel.

107 Ibid.

108 AC, 5 April; *Freeman's Journal*, 4 April.

109 Ibid. Counsellor Treston and Edward Hughes visited Arva on 3 April. James Fay with Edward Kennedy visited Redhills on the same day. A Mr S. W. Palles is also mentioned (*Freeman's Journal*, 2 April) as an agent for Hughes.

110 AC, 22 March; *Freeman's Journal*, 21 March.

masses of country people greeted him with bursts of cheering. He was accompanied by Mr Fay of Cavan, one of the most popular men in our county, and also by Mr Magauran, his agent. Immediately on his arrival he was waited on by the Rev. N. Conaty, P.P., the Rev. Edward Lynch, Crosserlough, the Rev. Mr. McCabe, Denn, and the inhabitants of the town who testified to him the great interest they felt in the coming struggle. Having addressed his friends at some length, Hughes, escorted by an immense *cortège* of people proceeded to canvass the voters and influential men of the town. The "hurrahs" of the multitude told how each one answered. Two voters alone refused.<sup>111</sup>

He visited Bailieboro and Mountnugent before making a circuit of the towns in the west of the county in the last week of March.<sup>112</sup> On 4 April a huge rally was held in Cavan at the Globe hotel where an estimated 1500 people gathered.<sup>113</sup>

The cold fact remained, however, that in those years before the Ballot Act winning an election depended to a great extent on the number of influential landlords a candidate could count on his side or at least could count on as neutral. Burrowes with the backing of the Grand Jury<sup>114</sup> had no worries on this score but Hughes could count on very few. Besides a number of lesser Liberal landlords — like the Fays, Dease, Hutton, Fulke Greville, Anthony O'Reilly, Hort, Talbot,<sup>115</sup> whose combined property did not exceed 20,000 acres — the Liberals claimed that they had secured the neutrality at least of four large landowners, namely, Headford, Young, Humphrys and Saunderson.<sup>116</sup> The property of these four (and therefore the number of their tenants with votes) was considerable — over 40,000 acres combined — although it represented only about ten per cent of the total property in the county, but a promise of "co-operation" or of "neutrality", which was the most Hughes could hope to claim, only meant that, barring intervention on the part of land-agents, those tenants who wished to do so were free to vote for Hughes — it did not imply at all that all tenants would support Hughes. The reckoning of Sir John Young among the Liberals or at least

111 *Freeman's Journal*, 26 March; AC, 29 March.

112 *Freeman's Journal*, 6 April. He was in Arva on 26 March, Belurbet on 27 March, Killeshandra on 28 March.

113 AC, 5 April; *Freeman's Journal*, 6 April

114 *Freeman's Journal*, 12 March; AC, 8 March.

115 *Freeman's Journal*, 17 March, 20 March, 6 April.

116 *Ibid.* The Marquess of Headford, traditionally liberal, had over 14,000 acres in the Virginia district; Sir John Young 8,500 acres near Bailieboro, William Humphrys over 5,000 at Ballyhaise and Col. A. Saunderson 12,500 throughout the county.



neutrals is interesting : he had been a conservative all his life but with the Peelites had joined the coalition government of Lord Aberdeen and had become identified in conservative eyes with "false conservatives".<sup>117</sup> A final word about the Liberals' claim to have got the backing of the Presbyterian landlords, the Andrews brothers. John and George Andrews from co. Down had within the previous few months purchased a number of townlands in Kilbride and Crosserlough that had been part of the estate of the Honourable Somerset Richard Maxwell, brother of Lord Farnham.<sup>118</sup> Being Presbyterians, they were regarded as favourable to tenant-right and the Liberals claimed that they adhered to Hughes.<sup>119</sup> However their estate was not large, hardly 1,000 acres in extent.

### THE FINAL DAYS

The sheriff of the county, Edward Rotheram, gave notice on 22 March that nominations for the vacant seat would be received on 7 April and that the election would be held on the following Tuesday and Wednesday, 10 and 11 April. Nomination day thus fell on Easter Saturday and the *Evening Mail* complained that between then and polling day there was Easter Sunday and Monday "a season very convenient for the Roman agents to work in".<sup>120</sup>

The nomination took place in the entrance hall of Cavan courthouse at ten o'clock on Easter Saturday.<sup>121</sup> The candidates and their supporters occupied the balcony at the top of the stairs, Hughes and his friends on the right, Burrowes and his friends on the left, while the general public crowded the hall below. The names of Burrowes's friends read like the Grand Jury list;<sup>122</sup> Hughes's on the other hand consisted mostly of priests, some prominent Catholic laymen and one or two members of the

117 *DE*, 2 March, 3 March, 5 March.

118 *AC*, 1 March. Fourteen townlands of S. R. Maxwell are mentioned as being in the Encumbered Estates Court. The Andrews brothers purchased only four of them it appears — Aghnaederny, Finaway, Portan, Sallaghill. Cf. *Griffith's Valuation*.

119 *Freeman's Journal*, 30 March.

120 *AC*, 22 March; *Evening Mail*, 4 April; *Freeman's Journal*, 2 April.

121 The following particulars of the scene are from the *AC*, 12 April.

122 They were Lieut. Col. Clements, Hon. R. Maxwell, Theophilus Thompson, Rev. C. Fox, Nath. Montgomery, David Jones, Hugh Swanzy, John A. Faris, James Kilroy, Henry Douglas, Robert Reid, Moses Netterfield, Geo. Bell, G. L'Estrange, Jas. Hartley, Ralph Harman, Perrott Thornton, Thomas Smith, J. D. Thompson, John Rodgers, Anthony Kilroy, Charles Hill, Joseph Story, E. Bredin, Mr Gwynne.

Established Church.<sup>123</sup> In all sixteen priests' names are mentioned, twelve of them including one bishop on the balcony with Hughes, the others in the hall with many others of the landlord, business and professional classes.<sup>124</sup> A number of ladies was present on a side gallery.<sup>125</sup> The town was thronged chiefly by frieze-coated men, supporters of Hughes.

Mr Burrowes was proposed by the Rev. Francis Saunderson, brother of Col. Alexander Saunderson and rector of Kildallon,<sup>126</sup> who, referring to the close ties between the houses of Stradone and Castle Saunderson, asserted that the mantle of his father had fallen on Burrowes, quoted Virgil (in Latin) which he translated to apply to "the stranger from Granard's wasted lands", and dealt with the humbug of the liberals' making tenant-right an election issue. Col. Henry Clements of Ashfield Lodge seconded the proposal. Mr Edward Plunkett of Dunowen (Castlerahan) proposed Mr Hughes, mentioning his support of religious liberty, tenant right, National education, and his paying the poor-rates of his tenants. Mr James Fay of Cavan seconded, saying Hughes had no "Darby O'Drives" on his property<sup>127</sup> and that Major Maxwell did not represent the wants of

123 The following priests are named : Most Rev. Dr Brady (Bishop of Perth, native of Castletara), Archdeacon Brady (P.P. of Kilmore, died in 1858), Rev. Hugh Fitzsimmons (P.P. of Annagh, died 1860 at age of 87), Rev. W. McCawley (P.P., Redhills), Rev. John McEnroe (C.C., Cavan), Rev. Patrick Smith (C.C., Kilmore), Rev. John O'Reilly (President Kilmore Academy), Rev. P. Gilroy (C.C., Belturbet), Rev. P. O'Reilly (P.P., Drumlane), Rev. P. McGuinness (Kilmore Academy), Rev. F. McCabe (C.C., Denn), Rev. John Gaffney (C.C., Cavan), Rev. Thomas O'Reilly (C.C., Crosserlough), Rev. Edward Lynch (Adm. Crosserlough, died 1859, native of Ragaskin), Rev. P. Gilroy (C.C. Ballintemple, native of Shannow). The laymen named are James Fay, Edward Plunkett, John Beatty (Lisanny), Philip Smith (Artonagh), James McGauran, Thomas McCabe, Thomas Conaty, Dr O'Reilly (Ballinagh), Dr O'Donovan, Edward McGauran, S. Swanzy, Dr McDermott, P. Fay, Counsellors Treston, O'Reilly, Mahony and Connolly. Samuel Swanzy, who lived in Erskine Terrace, Cavan, was Clerk of the Crown for the county.

124 Among these were Philip Smith (Carrickvilla), Matthew Lough, Zachariah Wallace, Rev. W. P. Moore, Dr Kelly (Cavan), James Burrowes, John Reilly (Butlersbridge), John Latournell (Belturbet), John E. Vernon.

125 Mrs and the Misses Fay of Cavan, the Misses Tully of Cavan, the Misses Moore, Mrs Wallace and Miss Bournes, Mrs Thomas Reilly and Miss Reilly, Butlersbridge, the Misses McCann, Miss Nolan are the only recorded names.

126 He died in December 1873 at the age of 88.

127 A common designation at the time, apparently referring to evictors or bailiffs who seized property.



the people. There being no other proposals, Burrowes next addressed the assembly explaining his standing as a conservative, as supporter of the Established Church, opponent of the National education system, and that he would not support this or that tenant-right bill but would support "such a measure as would fully and justly secure remuneration for the tenant". In reply to a question he stated his neutrality on the question of the Maynooth grant. Hughes then made his speech, vigorously and incisively, the main points of which have been recounted above in the section on election issues. He said too, in reply to the Rev. Saunderson's allusion to Granard, that he had none of the fat lands of Granard but he had little hills like the Cavan hills, and in reply to Burrowes's claim to be independent :

Let him and his landlord supporters and their agents now declare publicly that their tenants may vote as they please. Let them declare that they will not interfere, that they will interdict their bailiff from interposing and that they advise every tenant on their estates to vote according to their conscience.

When he concluded the sheriff called for a show of hands and declared that most hands were for Hughes, whereupon a poll was demanded for Mr Burrowes. After the usual formalities, the candidates and their supporters dispersed.

On that same Saturday, Gavan Duffy's *Nation* published a leading article in reply to a letter from Killeshandra.<sup>128</sup> The letter had found fault with Gavan Duffy's attitude towards the election and accused him of being on the side of vile Orangemen, landlords and agents. Gavan Duffy replied that Hughes was a place-seeker and that he had held office during the passing of the Ecclesiastical Titles Act, and concluded that the return of Hughes would mean no triumph of public principle but merely a step towards the bench. Mr Burrowes's party had this leading article printed in large placard size and posted it on every gate, pillar and big tree in the county with a heading calling on the Liberal Electors to read.<sup>129</sup> The friends of Hughes countered by printing off Hughes's speech of nomination and distributing it widespread throughout the county.<sup>130</sup> Next day they got an additional aid to canvassing.

After last Mass on Easter Sunday in the Church of St Patrick in Cavan town, Dr Browne, Bishop of Kilmore, addressed a

128 *Nation* 7 April. The writer described as an old correspondent of the *Nation* was probably Thomas McCabe of Killeshandra. In the course of his letter he mentioned that "our Bishop [Dr Browne] is holding neutral and cannot be got to assist".

129 AC, 12 April.

130 Ibid.

few words to the people on the coming election.<sup>131</sup> This was a very unusual occurrence : during his twenty-six years as bishop of Kilmore, Dr Browne had never interfered in politics until then although he had on occasion taken part in public meetings.<sup>132</sup> His address consisted of four points : first, an exhortation to peace and good behaviour in the coming week; second, an explanation of the need for tenant-right, to which he added —

I do not wish to convey to you that you want such protection [as tenant-right] against your own landlords, but if you are blessed in having honest men with whom to deal, others may not be so fortunate, and for their sakes the struggle for tenant-right was an honest and generous one; it was to affect bad landlords not good ones that legislation upon the subject was proposed . . . ;

third, he went on to their freedom in casting their votes, saying there were grounds for believing that nowadays no punishment would be inflicted for voting against the wishes of one on whom they were dependent —

I do not believe landlords are capable of tyrannizing over the poor man who exercised, in what he believed an honest way, the rights which the Constitution gave him, and if any of them were inclined to hold out threats or intimidation there was the law passed last year to take cognisance of them and to make recoverable from them a large fine with heavy costs, as it could be recovered from myself if I held out any threat of excommunication or other spiritual punishment upon those of my flock who would not take my advice as to how they should vote;

lastly, he stated that he had got the very best character of Mr Hughes and believed he would make a very fitting representative for the county. In a few hours after this address was made it was printed off and circulated in the county under the heading "A Few Words of Advice from Dr Browne".<sup>133</sup>

The most remarkable thing about the pre-election scene was perhaps the confidence of Hughes's party. Some of this of course was a matter of propaganda to encourage the hesitant, but some too was based on solid evidence. The evidence indeed was there — the popularity of Hughes, the impressive canvass,

131 AC, 12 April; *Freeman's Journal*, 10, 11 April; *Nation*, 14 April.

132 He had attended some public meetings in Cavan in connection with famine relief; he also attended the meeting there on 2 July 1845 for the restoration of peace following the murder of Mr Bell Booth, the meeting in Cavan Church to protest against the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill in 1851. Cf. *Breifne*, 1966, pp. 117, 120-1.

133 AC, 12 April.



the closely-knit organisation, the support of the clergy, the neutrality of some big landlords — but it was unfortunately easy to exaggerate it especially since the only yard-stick available was the general election three years earlier when none of these factors had operated. At any rate the liberals at one stage published a report that

the only fear now entertained by the liberals is that Burrowes will not give Hughes an opportunity of gaining a glorious triumph.<sup>134</sup>

In other words they set on foot a rumour that Burrowes would resign from the contest. However such a rumour had been fully disproved on Nomination day. Both sides awaited the verdict of the polls.

### POLLING

I have not got the exact figure for the number of registered voters in the county, but it was something in the region of 4,500.<sup>135</sup> Polling places were at Cavan, Cootehill, Bailieboro' and Ballyconnell on a barony basis, so that the voters of the baronies of Upper Loughtee, Clanmahon and Tullyhunco voted in Cavan, those of Tullygarvey in Cootehill, those of Clankee and Castlerahan in Bailieboro, and those of Lower Loughtee and Tullyhaw in Ballyconnell. The larger baronies (Upper Loughtee, Clankee, Castlerahan and Clanmahon) had two booths each in their respective polling centres, the smaller baronies one booth each.<sup>136</sup> Polling took place on two days, Tuesday and Wednesday of Easter Week, 10 and 11 April. The result was made official about mid-day on Friday, 13 April.

The *Anglo-Celt* describes the scene on Tuesday morning :

Two hours before nine o'clock the roads leading to the four [polling] towns became alive with men on foot, in cars or on horseback, and the cheers which were kept up almost continuously were deafening. They were all responsive to the sentiment of "Tenant-right" and therefore all proceeded from the supporters of Mr Hughes. About nine o'clock a body of stout active young fellows, numbering some five or six thousand and each brandishing an enormous cudgel, came down the streets [of Cavan town], and advanced to the Courthouse, roaring vociferously. The Rev. John McEnroe, curate of this parish,<sup>137</sup> rode before and the Rev. Pat-

<sup>134</sup> AC, 5 April; *Freeman's Journal*, 4 April.

<sup>135</sup> The total poll was 4,029.

<sup>136</sup> There were thus five booths in Cavan, four in Bailieboro, two in Ballyconnell and one in Cootehill.

<sup>137</sup> Matriculated in Maynooth in 1846, Cavan seems to have been his first assignment after ordination. He died in Belturbet on 17 November 1864.

rick Smyth, curate of Kilmore,<sup>138</sup> rode behind them. Having got to the Courthouse, they divided into four or five parties and took up their stations at different parts of the town or its outlets — those who were farthest off receiving the voters as they came and escorting them with shouts of triumphant congratulations to the next party who in turn brought them to the third and they again to the fourth until the tally-rooms, which were exactly opposite the Courthouse in the yard attached to Mrs. Elliot's residence in Farnham Street,<sup>139</sup> were reached . . . At an early hour [in the evening] the streets began to be deserted, the mob, if it is pleasing so to term them, retired in their respective homes, sober, without molesting anyone . . . In fact they did nothing while in Cavan but shout and weary themselves, running with and "huzzahing" Mr Hughes's voters as they proceeded to the tallyrooms and then running back to be the escort of more. As it may be important to be precise on this point, we should say that the voters were thus escorted only as far as Wesley Street. There the police received them from the hands of their conductors and for the rest of the way they were quite free, the tallyrooms of both parties being before them.<sup>140</sup>

The picture of priests leading in the voters of their parishes is repeated in local traditions as also is the fact that Hughes's voters made the journey by the main roads while the voters for Burrowes used the back roads.<sup>141</sup> The "body of active young fellows" mentioned in the *Anglo-Celt* account caused no disturbance but one, and that the minor one of besieging the house of Mr Bernard Walls in Main Street on Wednesday until he consented to come out to cast his vote.

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138 The AC twice refers to this man as Patrick Smith. The curate of Kilmore in 1855 was Rev. James Smyth. He was moved to Ballintemple in 1859 and to Maudabawn in 1863. However, a Rev. Patrick Smith, C.C., Kilmore, was promoted to be parish priest of Killesher, vacant by the death of Rev. John Gallagher, in July 1855 (AC, 26 July).

139 Jane Elliott, with Dr Halpin, Theo. Thompson, Jane Burrowes and Samuel Swanzy, had property in a section of Erskine Terrace, according to *Griffith's Valuation*.

140 AC, 12 April.

141 This is the tradition in Lavey. Cf. AC, 12 April: "During the day [Wednesday] there came a very considerable number of voters from Clanmahon, and right hearty were the plaudits that greeted them as the cars which bore them rattled along the streets. The fact that they came through the town was proof enough that they were for Mr Hughes as Mr Burrowes's friends went by the back roads."



The *Anglo-Celt* printed a table of the total votes recorded at each booth in each of the baronies during the two days. It is worth reproducing, defective though it admittedly is.<sup>142</sup>

BARONY	BOOTH	BURROWES	HUGHES	MAJORITY
Castlerahan	1	157	163	Hughes 6
"	2	175	165	Burrowes 10
Clanmahon	1	106	138	Hughes 32
"	2	92	149	Hughes 57
Clankee	1	203	121	Burrowes 82
"	2	195	105	Burrowes 90
Upper Loughtee	1	171	164	Burrowes 7
"	2	199	160	Burrowes 39
Lower Loughtee	1	118	184	Hughes 66
Tullygarvey	1	175	116	Burrowes 59
Tullyhunco	1	262	144	Burrowes 118
Tullyhaw	1	168	121	Burrowes 47

It reveals a great showing for Hughes in Clanmahon and Lower Loughtee, an even distribution in Castlerahan and a big majority for Burrowes in Clankee and Tullyhunco with a lesser majority for him in Tullyhaw and Upper Loughtee. With the grouping of the baronies in the four polling places, it emerges that Burrowes had majorities in Cavan (about 80), Cootehill (about 60) and especially in Bailieboro (about 176), while in Ballyconnell alone did Hughes win by a majority of about 20 votes and that in virtue of his solid support in the parishes of Annagh and Drumlane.<sup>143</sup> The official figures issued by the sheriff on Friday were : Burrowes 2163; Hughes 1866; Majority for Burrowes 297.

The result that caused most surprise at the time was that returned from Bailieboro, especially from the barony of Clankee. The two big landlords in that barony were Sir John Young and Col. Pratt.<sup>144</sup> While the Colonel had never been noted for

142 The AC admitted that the numbers polled in Tullygarvey and Tullyhunco on the second day had not come to its knowledge. The totals derived from the AC lists (Burrowes 2021, Hughes 1730, Majority for Burrowes 291) lead me to believe that it is only the Tullygarvey second day poll that is missing from the list, since it is stated elsewhere (*Freeman's Journal*, 13 April) that the total votes in Cootehill (Tullygarvey) were 310 to 250 in favour of Burrowes and in Cavan (including Tullyhunco) 830 to 750 in favour of Burrowes (almost exactly the totals for Cavan from the AC lists).

143 In a speech at Ballyconnell on 17 May, the Rev. Terence McGauran, C.C. Templeport (Kilsallagh) stated that there were only six "backsliders" in the parish of Templeport at the election (AC, 24 May), yet his barony did not give Hughes a majority.

144 Young had about 8,500 acres in the barony, Col. Pratt about 7,700, as well as the towns of Bailieboro (Young) and Kings-

liberalism, Sir John Young was thought to be favourable to Hughes. It is possible that a landagent was at work for Burrowes on Young's estate just as was alleged about the Ruxton estate at Shercock, but the explanation may simply be that Church of Ireland and Presbyterian tenants voted solidly for Burrowes.<sup>145</sup>

Despite all the excitement there were no serious incidents throughout the contest. Two troops of the Second Dragoon Guards, a company of the 56th Regiment and a large body of police were on duty in the county.<sup>146</sup> The election officials were loud in praise of the good order. The sheriff stated :

You have set an example to be followed in England and Ireland. No conduct could be better than yours. You assembled in large numbers, you were excited, and yet everything went off to my satisfaction. I was high-sheriff of Meath in 1852; I was witness of what was done there, and everything is decidedly in favour of Cavan.<sup>147</sup>

Mr Burrowes paid tribute to the conduct of Hughes, "a formidable but honourable opponent" for preventing disturbance and securing fair play. Mr Hughes, in acknowledging the compliment, hoped that the landlords would be equally honourable in forgetting about tenants who voted against their wishes.<sup>148</sup>

Nevertheless there were a few rather minor incidents arising out of the election. On Monday, Samuel Moore with Abraham Brush and others including four policemen were conveying about twenty voters (all Catholics but one) on two long cars from Dundavan police station to Cavan to vote the following morning<sup>149</sup> when they were met somewhere near Grousehall by a party of men with sticks who "released" the voters and sent them back home, but a force of military rounded them up on Tuesday morning and brought them in to vote for Burrowes. There was a court case about this affair in June when a man named John Halton was charged with causing a riot but the jury disagreed on the verdict.<sup>150</sup> At the other end of the county, a shot was

court (Pratt). Other large land-holdings in the barony were as follows : Hutton (4,300 acres), the Adamsons (3,000 acres), Henry Singleton (2,800 acres) and the Ruxton estate (2,800 acres including Shercock).

145 *Freeman's Journal*, 12 April; AC, 19 April, quoting the *Telegraph*.

146 AC, 5 April.

147 AC, 12 April. The sheriff, Edward Rotheram, was from Cross-drum, Oldcastle.

148 *Ibid*.

149 They were tenants of William Rathbourne's estate in Kilcogy, Cloncovet and Carnagh. The single Protestant among them was allowed to proceed.

150 AC, 21 June 1855.

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fired when the Rev. W. McCauley, P.P., Annagh East, was returning in a car with some voters from Cootehill, but no one was hit.<sup>151</sup> There was also a slight scuffle at Moynehall on Wednesday evening involving a man named Ralph Clarke who had voted for Burrowes, but a charge against Terence Dalton for the affair was later dismissed.<sup>152</sup> Finally on the night of Saturday, 28 April, Larah Catholic Church was broken open and every pew in it except that belonging to Philip Smith of Artonagh was smashed. It appears that the holders of the pews, with the exception of Smith, had voted for Burrowes.<sup>153</sup> These were the only verified incidents, but the most famous one reported never happened at all. The *Evening Mail* gave a report that on Tuesday night (10 April) a man was roasted over a fire by armed men for voting for Burrowes.<sup>154</sup> The story was taken up in the House of Commons on a debate on the ballot at the end of May, when Mr Berkeley from Bristol repeated it and added that it was common practice in county Cavan to dig an open grave before the door of electors as a threat. Mr Burrowes rose to state that the report was totally without foundation.<sup>155</sup>

#### AFTERMATH

Despite expectations before the election, many attempts were reported in the immediate aftermath of the election to punish tenants who had voted for Hughes against their landlords' directions. Zachariah Wallace promised he would keep a close eye on such proceedings and report them in his *Anglo-Celt*.<sup>156</sup> What he did was to publish with some editorial comment each letter received concerning persecution of tenants, then he wrote a leader on the question, and finally, as the Cavan Quarter

151 AC, 12 April, 19 April.

152 AC, 21 June.

153 AC, 3 May.

154 *Evening Mail*, 13 April.

155 Hansard, vol. 138, coll. 928-942. Mr Hughes in a speech at Ballyconnell on 17 May referred to the report: "A portion of the press circulated gross fabrications about us. They said that in one place a man was roasted alive. Don't you all know that was a most unfounded and malicious invention? What has become of the fabrication? It has been circulated and repeated by the Tory press in England and Scotland. I have ascertained from the best authority that the constabulary returns, which were very minute, contained nothing that even approached to an authenticated outrage. There were ten thousand men in Cavan full of enthusiasm, but they were as full of peace . . ." (AC, 24 May).

156 AC, 12 April.

Sessions took place on 18 June, a leader acknowledging the end of the matter.

The first letter alleged that "some of our noble proprietors and other landlords" were at present (April) collecting their rents in the Belturbet area. The editor commented that facts such as the writer mentioned had come to his own knowledge.<sup>157</sup> A second letter written from Cavan on 2 May stated that many tenants had been served with notices to quit, several with ejectments and very many called on to pay up rents not usually demanded at that time of year. The comment was that on the whole the editor agreed with the writer.<sup>158</sup> A third letter, this time signed by the Rev. Patrick O'Reilly, P.P., Drumlane, enclosed a letter which the writer had sent to Lord Farnham on 10 May :

I am surprised that notices to quit immediately after the late election were served on those of your tenants in this parish who voted for Hughes and also such non-electors as manifested a sympathy for his success were deprived of their "bog lots" this year and rent demands made on them. Many landlords in this county look on you as a political guide and have imitated you in this. Has this action been adopted by your agent or bailiff without your knowledge? If so, let you disavow having given any sanction to it.<sup>159</sup>

Wallace's comment was a general one that nothing would deter him from exposing persecution "come from what quarter it may".<sup>160</sup> In the same issue he published another letter which among other things said :

The persecution has commenced as a sectarian as well as a political persecution directed at Catholic tenants. Catholic landlords do not persecute their Protestant tenants. The way it is worked is by demanding a *year's rent* at May when only half a year's rent was asked at other times according to custom, and by notice to quit and ejectment process served on tenants at will who have no leases although their rent

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157 AC, 26 April.

158 AC, 3 May.

159 AC, 24 May. The Rev. Patrick O'Reilly seems to have been appointed parish priest of Drumlane in 1854 on the death of the Rev. Philip Donegan (contrary to a report in the *Weekly Telegraph*, 18 March 1854, which quoting the *Anglo-Celt* says Rev. Peter McGauran was appointed to Drumlane — Rev. Peter McGauran was P.P. of Kildallon in 1855). Father Patrick O'Reilly died in Drumlane in 1880 aged 65 (headstone outside Staghall Church) but in 1869 he is reported as saying that he was more than 50 years on the mission (*Freeman's Journal*, 2 November, 1869).

160 Leader in AC, 24 May, signed personally by Wallace.



is paid up, and also by asking and laying on additional rents where they are already at the rack-rent mark or above it. All according to law! Darby O'Drive indeed! Some of the chief actors in these affairs are well-known as small landlords, rack-renters, Orange squireens and needy shoneens, but there are also some agents and receivers on large estates exercising their base bigotry. Their names are well-known and will be given at another time. Cavan is now peaceable and everyone should be against persecution, yet Burrowes's agents and backers still persecute Catholic tenants.<sup>161</sup>

Amidst reports that outrages against landlords were being planned and threats of retaliation in kind against Catholic priests and others,<sup>162</sup> Wallace noted that numberless notices to quit had been served upon voters for Hughes and that demands for gales of rent never asked at this time for over twenty years made on them, and stated that he would report each and every action brought at the coming sessions in Cavan.<sup>163</sup>

Meanwhile the persecuted tenants were being assured that they need not fear eviction. At the Ballyconnell tenant-right meeting on 17 May both Mr Hughes and the Rev. Patrick O'Reilly, P.P., Drumlane, advised that the power of public opinion and the press was too strong and that landlords would not dare to act in the circumstances :

They will serve notices to quit but you need not be alarmed. Act legally and peacefully, give no provocation . . . and I tell you in the face of the county of Cavan that though the notices have been served and rents required up to the last hour, they must yield in the end. Public opinion is too strong, it will protect honest voters against landlords and their Darby O'Drives. The press will prevent them from appearing in courts of justice . . . I repeat it, the press will keep you in your farms.<sup>164</sup>

Whatever factors intervened — fear of exposition in the press or perhaps compromise or even rent paying by the tenants —

161 AC, 24 May. In the House of Commons on 22 May, a Mr Bland referred to the great number of notices to quit served by Lord Farnham and A. Nesbitt on their tenants in consequence of their votes (Hansard, vol. 138, col. 941).

162 AC, 31 May (threat in a letter to Rev. Patrick O'Reilly, P.P., Drumlane). On 12 October 1855, Miss Charlotte Hinds of Toberlyan Duffin near Kilnavart was beaten and murdered by two attackers — she died ten days later. The attack was regarded as having an agrarian origin and was not, directly at least, connected with the by-election.

163 AC, 7 June.

164 AC, 24 May.

it transpired that at the Quarter Sessions in June although there were thirty-one ejectment cases, "there was no case that could be construed as a persecution for a vote honestly recorded." This was explicitly acknowledged by the *Anglo-Celt*.<sup>165</sup>

Another post-election move was a drive by the liberals to bring the register of voters up to date. When the sheriff was about to declare the result of the election, Theophilus Thompson called for three cheers "for the 311", and a voice interjected "half of them dead men".<sup>166</sup> The liberals felt that many conservatives were on the register who should not be and that many liberals were not on it who should be. One of the purposes of the meeting in Ballyconnell on 14 May was the reform of the register. There it was proposed to have a registration club in every polling district with a branch in every parish in order to determine who should or should not be registered.<sup>167</sup> A letter from Hercules Ellis to the secretary of the Cavan club in July shows that some steps in that direction were being taken: he proposed the name of T. N. Knipe of Belturbet as one who would look after their interests at the registration.<sup>168</sup>

The liberals made a similar move towards getting up petitions to parliament in favour of tenant-right. There is a report that such a petition from the parish of Annagh was signed by 1500 names, that one from Drumlane had 1700 signatures, one from Templeport had 800 and one from Kinawley had 700. Mr Hughes and his friends were behind these petitions.<sup>169</sup> It is of great interest to note that in a vote in parliament in early May on Sergeant Shee's tenant-right bill both Col. Maxwell and Robert Burrowes voted for the motion, but the bill itself was defeated.<sup>170</sup> The liberals claimed that it was their action in the by-election that caused the Cavan conservatives to support tenant-right.<sup>171</sup>

#### GAVAN DUFFY AND DR BROWNE

Apart from the recording of its result, the only reference to the Burrowes-Hughes by-election in history is contained in Gavan Duffy's *League of North and South* written in 1886:

At this time Cavan became vacant and was addressed by a Tory and a Whig. The latter was a Catholic barrister who

165 AC, 21 June.

166 AC, 12 April. Burrowes's majority was thought to be 311 before the official announcement.

167 AC, 24 May. Cf. *Nation*, 14 April: "Nearly 1,000 R. Catholics were found off the register".

168 AC, 19 July. Mr Knipe was an attorney.

169 AC, 7 June.

170 AC, 10 May; Whyte, *Independent Irish Party*, p. 136.

171 AC, 24 May.

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had held office under Lord John Russell while he was passing his penal law against bishops. To support this candidate the Bishop of Kilmore took the field in person. With a cruel indifference to consequences he assured the people from the pulpit that they ran no risk in supporting Mr Hughes, because even his opponents respected him. But the Whig bishop pleaded in vain : though the Catholic electors were in a great majority, the Tory was chosen.<sup>172</sup>

This book is based on Duffy's own recollections and on files of the *Nation* newspaper of which he was owner and editor in 1855,<sup>173</sup> and it is there that his hostility to Dr Browne, Bishop of Kilmore, first showed itself. I have mentioned already Gavan Duffy's attitude to the selection of Hughes as a candidate and his open opposition to Hughes's campaign. At that place it is recorded that Duffy was informed in a letter which was received during the week of the nomination that Dr Browne was holding neutral and could not be got to assist Hughes.<sup>174</sup> Then came Easter Sunday and Dr Browne's "few words". In the following Saturday's *Nation*, the Bishop's address was printed in full, and Duffy made the following editorial comment :

The patron of this people's candidate was of course a Whig Bishop. Dr Browne of Kilmore is reputed to be a mild ruler in the Church and an indefatigable labourer in the vineyard. But when he comes out of his seclusion to take the supreme control in public affairs, mark what a counsellor of the people he becomes. He exhorts them to risk their homes and honest earnings for a man who has already shamefully betrayed them, for a man whose position and aspirations actually forbid him to be an honest representative . . . The fancy picture of an Orange landlord thanking his Catholic tenants for defying his authority is rather too poetic. And when this bait is held out to a poor generous peasant by one for whom his respect is without limit in favour of a tried and tested deserter of the country, it needs much Christian patience to be dumb.<sup>175</sup>

Elsewhere he calls Hughes "the Bishop's candidate" and attributes his defeat partly to the opposition of the *Nation* and partly to the support of the Bishop, as both made him out to be

172 *The League of North and South*, pp. 325-6.

173 By August 1855 he had sold his paper and resigned from parliament. He later went to Australia.

174 See footnote 128.

175 *Nation*, 14 April.

176 *Nation*, 14 April, 21 April.

"an unmitigated Whig".<sup>176</sup>

There is no evidence that Dr Browne had any aristocratic or non-national leanings to warrant his being called a Whig, and it is plain from the address itself — the greatest part of which is devoted to tenant-right — that he supported Hughes not because Hughes was a Whig but because Hughes was for tenant-right. As for his being cruelly "indifferent to consequences", the opposite was the case: he was careful to explain that the risk was not great (in this events proved him right) and his record in relief work during the Famine showed he was very much alive to the sufferings of the poor.<sup>177</sup> It was moreover a distortion of facts to speak of Hughes as a betrayer and deserter. Such epithets could be applied to Sadlier and Keogh, but Hughes had never been elected to a position of trust and never took a pledge or made a promise of opposition to any government. To Dr Browne and the clergy of Cavan at the time it was not a question of Hughes's past conduct or future prospects; it was simply that he appeared to them the better of two candidates — an able advocate of tenant-right and a Catholic to boot against one who with good grounds was believed to be the mouthpiece of the conservative landlords of the county.

There remains the question why Dr Browne spoke out at all "from his seclusion" — incidentally, far from taking "supreme control in public affairs" he merely delivered an address to his congregation after Mass. On this it must be recalled that in 1852 Anthony O'Reilly (the candidate of Gavan Duffy's Irish Tenant League) had Dr Browne's approval.<sup>178</sup> The bishop issued no address on that occasion, either because O'Reilly had withdrawn from the contest or because he had contracted typhus fever a few weeks before the election.<sup>179</sup>

There was indignation in county Cavan at the *Nation's* attitude to the by-election. I have noted already the letter of remonstrance written from Killeshandra, and on the Saturday of the leader attacking Dr Browne, the Bailieboro agent of the

177 Cf. AC, 12 June, 3 July, 2 October, 20 November, 18 December, 1846; 5 February, 24 December 1847; 7 January, 4 February 1848, etc. In a talk on the occasion of the Month's Mind of the Rev. Mathew McQuaid in 1861, Dr Browne lauded the deceased priest (who was a member of the Irish Tenant League) as a patriot "fearless and unflinching, ever watchful and ever ready to sustain the rights of the poor against the tyrant and oppressor" (*The Meath People*, 2 November, 1861) — hardly the words of a Whig.

178 *Nation*, 22 May 1852 (see *Breifne*, 1966, pp. 120-121).

179 AC, 24 June, 1 July 1852.

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*Nation* reported that not a single copy of the paper was bought.<sup>180</sup> Zachariah Wallace wrote :

There is no defence needed for Dr Browne, the worthy high-minded and justly esteemed Roman Catholic Bishop of this diocese. His character in all circles and amongst all parties stands too high to be impugned. As a patriot, a gentleman, a clergyman and a citizen, in the best sense of the terms, he has few equals and certainly no superiors.<sup>181</sup> Gavan Duffy's leader must be considered in the light of his acute disillusionment with Irish affairs at the time, which he believed had been brought to their sorry state largely through the instrumentality of the hierarchy.<sup>182</sup>

### REFLECTIONS

I have no doubt that it was neither the support of Dr Browne nor the opposition of the *Nation* that defeated Hughes. In point of view of votes the defeat came about through the support given to Burrowes by seven or eight hundred Catholic tenants in the county.<sup>183</sup> Some of these it is true may have so acted rather than risk their tenure for a man who sacrificed nothing,<sup>184</sup> but I think the great majority of them were simply too much under the domination of their landlords to risk their displeasure for any candidate.<sup>185</sup> Old fears die hard. Moreover in 1855 the tenants were not desperate enough to disregard such risks. As a matter of fact the lot of the tenants had improved remarkably in 1854 and 1855 due to the high prices occasioned by the Crimean War<sup>186</sup> and it is a commonplace to remark that voters in times of prosperity tend to prefer the *status quo*. A final word in defence of the Cavan Catholics in general was written by Zachariah Wallace :

The *Fermanagh Reporter* printed an article in which the liberals and particularly the Roman Catholics of Cavan are designated by the most discreditable epithets. Now I, as a Protestant, repudiate the whole. That there are lip-liberals

180 *Nation*, 21 April 1855.

181 AC, 24 May 1855.

182 Cf. Whyte, *Independent Irish Party*, chapter 9, especially p. 120.

183 The figure of 700 or 800 Catholic voters for Burrowes is given in *Freeman's Journal* (12 April), AC (7 May, 24 May).

184 *Freeman's Journal*, 13 April.

185 This opinion is expressed many times in letters to the AC after the election.

186 AC, 18 January, 28 June. The Rev. Patrick O'Reilly in his speech at Ballyconnell on 17 May, referring to the Famine times, stated "there are better times now; the life-blood is in our veins, right hearts in our bosoms and our people would be valuable before Sebastopol" (AC, 24 May).

in this county as in every other all the world over I fully believe; but I believe this also, that there are fewer of these characters in this county than any other I would name. For instance I, being a Protestant, do not of course kneel at the same altar with my Roman Catholic fellow-countrymen, but I must say, and to this I pledge my honour and my life, that I experienced if not more (indeed *I ought to say more*) fully as much courtesy, kindness and generous treatment as from any other body in my weary pilgrimage through life, and to them I am mainly indebted for my release from a prison to which I ought never have been sent.<sup>187</sup>

Robert Burrowes held his seat for county Cavan for exactly two years. At the general election in April 1857 he did not go forward again but resumed his usual role of proposer of Col. Maxwell. There were two new candidates — Captain Hugh Annesley as a conservative and Matthew O'Reilly-Dease, Nicholastown, co. Louth, as a liberal and tenant-right advocate. Maxwell and Annesley had an easy victory.<sup>188</sup> Hughes did not contest this election in Cavan. In fact in the previous year, he had obtained a parliamentary seat in a by-election in co. Longford which he held until the 1857 general election; he was appointed solicitor-general for Ireland in 1858 and third baron of the exchequer in Ireland in 1859, a post which he held till his death in Bray on 22 July 1872.<sup>189</sup>

187 AC, 24 May. Wallace is referring to his imprisonment in 1853. Cf. *Breifne*, 1966, pp. 130-133.

188 *Freeman's Journal*, 7, 10, 15 April 1857.

189 *Freeman's Journal*, 23, 24, 26 July 1872. He is buried in Kill of the Grange cemetery.

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# Public Transport in Leitrim

by

P. J. Flanagan, Ph.D.

## 1 : INTRODUCTION

In the space of just 200 years, public transport in County Leitrim has gone full circle. The earliest conveyances in Ireland were the mail coaches which ran along the main roads linking the cities and chief towns. These were later superseded by the long cars and coaches of Charles Bianconi, and then by the railways. Also, the nineteenth century saw the development of waterways and the introduction of river and lake steamer services. The last to come, the water-borne transport was the first to be abandoned, and from the 1930s onwards occurred the strong and still present competition between railways and road omnibuses. In many places, as in Leitrim, this contest proved rather too much for the railways, and the transport of people and produce was once more left to road vehicles.

The history of Leitrim's transport is of particular interest as all the forms of conveyance mentioned were in vogue at one period or another and thus the county had more than its share of transport concerns of a highly individual nature.<sup>1</sup> This article is a rather brief survey of the main points of interest in a field which affords ample opportunity for further research. However, it is hoped that the reader will gain an overall picture of the long transport history of County Leitrim.

## 2 : EARLY ROAD TRANSPORT

### *The Mail Coaches*

The General Post Office was established in Dublin in 1710<sup>2</sup> and in the years afterwards a network of mail coach services was established, covering the chief towns in the country. By

1 In this article passenger transport is dealt with under the headings : early road, river and lake, rail and modern road services. Although passenger services were not provided, canal services were also operated in Leitrim. However, the history of the canals and their services is complex, and it is hoped to deal with them in a future article.

2 "Cuisle na Tire", July 1948, p. 14.

1778 there were 14 routes from Dublin.<sup>3</sup> As these came into being, other stage coach services were started and ultimately served a large part of Ireland.

Leitrim was served by the Sligo Mail Coach which started from the Royal Mail Coach Office at the Hibernian (now the Royal Hibernian) Hotel, in Dawson Street, Dublin.<sup>4</sup> The journey time to Sligo was about 15 hours and in 1805 the mails arrived in Carrick-on-Shannon from Dublin at 3.0 p.m. The returning coach from Sligo departed from Carrick at 11.0 a.m. the next day.<sup>5</sup> Leitrim was always served by Sligo-bound mail coaches and postal services to places well within the county were of a secondary nature, connecting with the main-road coach at suitable points on the route. In 1805 the ancillary services were as follows:—<sup>6</sup>

1. Ruskey Bridge, serving Mohill (5.0 p.m.) and Ballinamore (7.0 p.m.). The return service from Ballinamore was at 7.0 a.m.
2. Sligo to Florence Court & Belturbet, serving Manorhamilton (arrive at 8.0 p.m.; return 3.0 a.m.).
3. Branch service off No. 2 serving Dromahaire, arriving at 10.0 p.m. and returning immediately.

At the "Cross Post Roads", for example Ruskey Bridge, the mail bags were dropped from the through coach and were brought on to their destination by rider and post horse.

The service of the county by the Sligo coach continued as outlined until the late 1840s when, as a result of the opening of the Midland Great Western Railway to Mullingar,<sup>7</sup> the Sligo coach workings were based in Mullingar rather than Dublin, the mails being brought to the former place by rail. This rail/road service was in operation in 1849, in which year the fringe of Co. Leitrim at Tullaghan was being traversed by a Derry-Sligo mail coach service.<sup>8</sup> As the railway network was extended the carriage of mails was transferred from coach to train whenever possible.

### Stage Coaches

While Leitrim was not specifically served by the mail

3 "Cuisle na Tire", loc. cit.

4 Wakefield, *An Account of Ireland, Statistical and Political*, London, 1812, Vol. 1, p. 669.

5 Larkin, *Map of the Post Roads of Ireland*, Dublin 1805.

6 Larkin, loc. cit. The spelling "Ruskey" is contemporary.

7 The line was opened from Broadstone (Dublin) to Enfield in June 1847 and from Enfield to Mullingar in October 1848.

8 Bulletin of the Irish Railway Society (Fayle's Bulletin), No. 103, p. 54 (1957).



coaches, there were early stage coach services to termini within the county. In 1789 there were no fewer than three such coaches in operation:—<sup>9</sup>

1. *Leitrim Coach*. This departed from Mrs Ann Sandy's hotel in Smithfield, Dublin, three days a week in both summer and winter and travelled to McDermott's, Aughamore. The night was spent at Heeney's, Mullingar.
2. *Leitrim Fly* (prop. John Higgins). This service was from Booth's of Drumsna on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays to Hyne's of 11, Tighe St., Dublin. It returned from the city at 2.0 a.m. on Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays. Passenger fares from Dublin were:— Longford 16/-, Aughamore 19/-, Drumsna 20/-.
3. *Leitrim & Mullingar Stage* (props. John & James Copperthwaite). This coach left John Rorke's, 2, Smithfield, Dublin, at 4.0 a.m. on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays in Summer and travelled to Mullingar on the first day. The night was spent at Mr Heeney's and the journey continued next day to James McDermott's, Aughamore. Returned on Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays. The route was:— Leixlip, Kilcock, New Inn,<sup>10</sup> Blackwater, Clonard, Kinnegad, Mullingar, Bunbrosna, Ballinalack, Edgeworthstown and Longford. The passenger fares were:— Aughamore £1-2-9, Longford £1, Mullingar 13/-. There was a charge of 1½d. per lb. of goods and baggage, but there was a free allowance of 20 lbs.<sup>11</sup>

As with the mail coaches these services ceased to operate — at least on the original routes — as the railways spread throughout the country. Their demise was no doubt accelerated by the operations of the first person who could fairly claim that his services were country wide : Charles Bianconi.

### *The Bianconi Services*

The third form of early road transport was the service built up by Bianconi, the "king of Irish transport". His vast network of routes, operated by coaches and long cars, in time encompassed nearly the whole country.

The earliest route to serve Leitrim was Mullingar-Carrick, on which a coach ran one return trip a day. It was established in 1849 and was no doubt intended to complement the new

<sup>9</sup> The details are taken from "Wilson's Dublin Directory for the year 1789".

<sup>10</sup> Later called Innfield (stage horses were changed here); now Enfield.

<sup>11</sup> This is an interesting precedent for modern airline practice.

railway service from Dublin to Mullingar.<sup>12</sup> However, it should be noted that a through Sligo-Longford service had been established in 1832. A four-wheeled car operated one daily return trip. In 1849 Bianconi commenced the operation of Day and Night Mail coach services in each direction between Mullingar and Sligo. All these services lasted until about 1862, when the railway was extended to Sligo. Other services operated from Sligo to Strabane and Enniskillen. These dated from 1852 and 1862, respectively, and served portions of Co. Leitrim. These two were among the last services to operate, closing down in the 1860s. By that time the railway mileage was growing, and in many parts of the country there was a quick transition from road to rail transport. In the case of Leitrim, however, water transport had a brief fling and it is appropriate that this should be dealt with next.

### 3 : RIVER AND LAKE STEAMERS

#### Lough Gill

At intervals from the 1840s there have been shipping services on Lough Gill. In 1843 the small paddle steamer "*Lady of the Lake*" (built 1842; 20 tons gross) commenced daily sailings from Sligo. The trip to Dromahaire lasted one hour and it was reported that the cabins were "elegantly furnished" and that "a good table was maintained on board". The ship would appear to have operated until 1860 when it was wrecked.<sup>13</sup>

In 1873 a larger paddle steamer, the "*Maid of Breffni*", was put into service on the same route. The "*Maid*" was built by H. McIntyre of Paisley, in 1872 and was 71 tons gross, having dimensions : 83.4 ft. by 16.1 ft. (beam) by 7.2 ft. She was registered under the ownership of Edward J. Kill, Dromahaire, and was licensed to carry 300 passengers. The colours borne by the ship were black (hull), white (superstructure) and red with black top (funnel). The captain is stated to have been M. O'Rorke.<sup>14</sup> In addition to operating regular services, the "*Maid*" also ran excursions, and on 26 September 1881 there was a combined rail and steamer excursion from Enniskillen to Sligo. This was less than four weeks after the opening of the Manorhamilton-Dromahaire-Collooney section of the Sligo, Leitrim & Northern Counties Railway (see below).

According to one source, the "*Maid*" was originally to have

13 McNeill, *Coastal Passenger Steamers and Inland Navigations in the North of Ireland*, Belfast 1960, p. 22.

14 Bulletin of the Irish Railway Society (Fayle's Bulletin), No. 105 (1957), gives much of this detail; cf. McNeill, loc. cit.

12 O'Connell, *Life of Charles Bianconi*, 1878. Most of the details of the Bianconi services are taken from this source. (Biography by his daughter).

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been given the name of her predecessor, "*Lady of the Lake*". But legend has it that before the maiden voyage one of those responsible for the ship's commissioning was visited in an apparition by the "true" Lady of the Lake, who urged that the name be changed!<sup>15</sup> However unlikely this may have been, there is no uncertainty about the fate of the "*Maid of Breffni*". In 1885 she was wrecked and "joined her late sister, *Lady of the Lake*, at the bottom of Lough Gill". A painting of the "Maid" and her bell are preserved in Sligo Museum.<sup>16</sup>

The demise of the "*Maid of Breffni*" spelled the end of steamer services on Lough Gill. However, at times from the 1920s, at least, there have been motor boat services between Sligo and Dromahaire. In July 1922, when the Civil War resulted in the suspension of train services into Sligo for a fortnight, letters were sent from Sligo by motor boat to Dromahaire.<sup>17</sup> Ten years later, in addition to evening cruises around Lough Gill, there were twice-daily return services on the Sligo-Dromahaire route.<sup>18</sup> Although at present there are no ordinary passenger services on the lake, Summer excursions are operated from Sligo around Lough Gill "including Innisfree and the Bonnet River to Dromahaire". Services are operated by the 36-seat motor launch "Eglington".

### *Lough Gill and Lough Allen*

The subject of proposals for transport systems is a vast one, and requires separate study, but it may be appropriate here to mention one such project which, if brought to fruition, would certainly have made a colossal impact on river traffic in Leitrim. A "long time" prior to 1818, a Mr Larkin surveyed a line of canal connecting Lough Allen with Lough Gill, following the valley of the river Bonet. The scheme came to nothing, reportedly on account of the large number of locks involved.<sup>19</sup> In 1825 a plea for the revival of this project was presented to the Lord Lieutenant but, again, nothing came of the move.<sup>20</sup>

In 1846, doubtless because of the development of the Shannon Navigation, interest in a similar project was revived and the "Sligo & Shannon Railway and Canal" scheme got under

15 Cf. note 14.

16 McNeill, loc. cit.

17 Kilgannon, *Sligo and its surroundings*, Sligo, 1926, p. 80.

18 Irish Tourist Association, *Official Guide to Connacht*, Dublin (1932). Advertisement on p. 131.

19 Griffith, *Geological and Mining Survey of the Connaught Coal District in Ireland*, Dublin, 1818.

20 Kilgannon, loc. cit., p. 114.

way.<sup>21</sup> In February of that year a petition for a Bill was presented to the House of Commons. The promoters intended to build a ship canal from Sligo Harbour to Lough Gill and thus "ships of 500 tons burthen" would be "enabled to avoid the most tedious and dangerous part of the voyage"<sup>22</sup> by sailing to somewhere near Dromahaire, where they could discharge their cargoes into the trains of the Sligo & Shannon Railway. This line would run along the Bonet valley to Lough Allen where a further transshipment of cargo would take place and the goods would be water-borne down the Shannon. The Bill went smoothly through Parliament and an Act<sup>23</sup> received the Royal Assent on 3 August 1846. The capital of the concern was £100,000 in shares and £26,000 in loans. Despite this initial speed and the subsequent acquisition of the originally separate Ship Canal Company by the Sligo & Shannon Railway Company, all moves were to prove superfluous as, in 1849, the Company was wound up without ever having commenced any works. This effectively marked the end of schemes to connect Lough Allen and Lough Gill.

### *The Shannon Steamer Service*

The only regular passenger services on the Shannon to serve Co. Leitrim were those operated by the Shannon Development Company at the beginning of this century. In 1897 this concern, under the direction of F. W. Crossley, inaugurated a steamer service on the Shannon and it ultimately extended from Killaloe to Carrick-on-Shannon. For the first seven years the venture was subsidised by the Board of Works. Quite a comprehensive service was operated, there being a "Lough Derg Through Service" (Killaloe-Athlone), a "Lough Derg Local Service" (Killaloe to Scariff, Mountshannon, Dromineer, Williams-town), a "Lough Ree Service" (Athlone-Roskey, for Dromod) and a "Dromod and Carrick Service" (Roskey, *not* Dromod, to Carrick).<sup>24</sup>

An interesting connection was provided by the Board of Works coach between Roskey and the Cavan & Leitrim Railway at Dromod. This service ceased in 1904 on the expiry of its six-year grant from the Board of Works. Shortly afterwards, the Roskey and Carrick steamer services were also withdrawn, although those on the Lower Shannon struggled on until about

21 There are various references to this project in the *Railway Times* for 1846.

22 I.e. the "dangerous part of the voyage" from America!

23 9 & 10 Vic., cap. 343.

24 Flanagan, *The Cavan and Leitrim Railway*, Newton Abbot, 1966, p. 181; cf. note 26.

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1914.<sup>25</sup> In wintertime the Rooskey-Carrick service consisted of one sailing to and from Athlone a week. The summer service, however, was rather more elaborate, as evidenced by the timetable for 1898:—<sup>26</sup>

#### LOUGH REE SERVICE

(Athlone and Rooskey for Dromod)

Daily (Sundays excepted)

Up Service				Down Service			
Athlone	...	...	dep. 8.00 a.m.	Rooskey	...	...	dep. 3.45 p.m.
Lanesboro'	...	...	" 10.00 "	Tarmonbarry	...	"	4.50 "
Tarmonbarry	...	...	" 11.15 "	Lanesboro'	...	"	5.45 "
Rooskey	...	...	arr. 12.15 p.m.	Athlone	...	...	arr. 7.45 p.m.

The Board of Works have arranged a Coach Service between Dromod Station and Rooskey Lock, to convey passengers for through connection, meeting Steamers at Rooskey on arrival at 12.15 p.m. and returning from Dromod on arrival of 3.15 p.m. train. Fares, Single 6d., Return 10d.

#### DROMOD AND CARRICK SERVICE

Daily (Sundays excepted)

Up Service				Down Service			
Rooskey	...	...	dep. 3.45 p.m.	Carrick-on-Shannon	...	...	dep. 10.00 a.m.
Albert Lock	...	...	" 5.00 "	Albert Lock	...	"	11.00 "
Carrick-on-Shannon	...	...	arr. 6.00 p.m.	Rooskey	...	...	arr. 12.15 p.m.

There were two classes of travel — saloon and deck, and examples of the fares are:— Carrick to Rooskey, 1/4d single, 2/3d return (saloon) and 10d single and 1/4d return (deck). The fares to Athlone were three times these figures.

To operate such a service on the length of the Shannon, at least five steamers were necessary. In fact, six were provided. Of these, three were built for the Shannon Development Company, and the rest were bought from other owners. The origins and fate of the different vessels, as well as their statistical details, are summarised in the following table:—<sup>27</sup>

<sup>25</sup> Flanagan, loc. cit.

<sup>26</sup> Taken from official guide and timetables for the Shannon Steamers.

<sup>27</sup> Bulletin of the Irish Railway Society (Fayle's Bulletin), No. 104, p. 89, (1957).

NAME	GROSS TONS	REG. NO.	H.P.	REMARKS
COUNTESS OF MAYO	46	104978	16	Built Rutherglen 1897 and reg. at Dublin same year. 70.2' x 14.1' x 7.3'. Sold 1908 to Patrick O'Neill, Warrenpoint, and reg. Newry same year.
COUNTESS CADOGAN	55	104979	13	Built Paisley 1897 and reg. Dublin same year. 70' x 14.1' x 7.3'. Sold 1913 to Lough Corrib S.S. Co.
LADY BETTY BALFOUR	55	108814	13½	Built Paisley 1898 and reg. Dublin same year. 70' x 14.1' x 7.3'. Sold 1915 to H. McDaniel, Merriem, Co. Dublin.
SHANNON QUEEN	18	105665	2	Built Bristol 1892. Reg. Manchester 1895 as "Manchester" of Ship Canal Co. Reg. Dublin 1897. 54.4' x 10' x 4.1'. Sold 1912 to William J. Holmes, Co. Clare.
FAIRY QUEEN	45	102596	20	Built Irvine 1893. Reg. Glasgow same year by Jas. Aitken & Co. Ltd. Reg. Dublin 1897. 63.3' x 14' x 7.2'. Sold 1907 to Walter Fulton, 82 Gordon St., Glasgow.
OLGA	28	106663	8	Built Canning Town 1894. Reg. in Glasgow 1896 by Fredk. L. Wrede, 63 Buchanan Street, Glasgow. Reg. Dublin 1898. 50.3' x 12.2' x 4.3'. Sold 1907 to Joseph Constant, 11 Billiter Sq., London. This ship was first reg. at Manchester 1895 by owners : Ship Canal Passenger Steamer Co. (1893) Ltd., 46 Brown Street, Manchester.

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## 4 : RAILWAYS

*Longford-Sligo Line*

With the opening of the "Longford and Sligo" line of the Midland Great Western Railway in 1862, County Leitrim gained its first contact with railways, albeit a peripheral one, along the southern fringe of the county. Three stations served the county : Dromod, Drumsna and Carrick-on-Shannon.<sup>28</sup> Despite suggestions from both local and transport circles, no extension of Midland lines further into Leitrim was ever made and subsequent developments in the county were largely brought about by local landowners and businessmen.

*Sligo, Leitrim & Northern Counties Railway*

By the 1870s the people of the district based around Sligo felt the need for a direct line of communication with the northern cities of Derry and Belfast — one of the main concerns being the necessity of having a convenient route for livestock en route to the North of England and Scotland. There were proposals for a railway from Enniskillen to Sligo via Bundoran, but these gave way to a scheme for a railway from Enniskillen inland via Manorhamilton and on to Sligo.

The culmination of this planning activity was the incorporation by Act of Parliament of the Sligo, Leitrim & Northern Counties Railway on 11 August 1875.<sup>29</sup> Some 18 months later a contract was entered into with Messrs Tottenham and Barry for the construction of the line. The former was Henry Tottenham of Glenfarne Hall and he was later to become Engineer of the SLNCR. The Chairman was Sir Henry Gore Booth, of Lissadell, and the other directors were George Lane Fox, Owen Wynne, The Lord Massey and Francis La Touche.<sup>30</sup>

Built at a cost of £346,334, the line was opened in various stages: — Enniskillen to Belcoo, 12 miles, on 18 March 1879; Belcoo to Glenfarne, 4½ miles, on 1 January 1880; Glenfarne to Manorhamilton, 7¾ miles, on 1 December 1880; Manorhamilton to Collooney, 16½ miles, on 1 September 1881; and Collooney to Carrignagat Junction, 1½ miles, on 7 November 1882. The last mentioned place is 1½ miles S.E. of Ballysodare and at the

28 Of the three, only Dromod Station was actually in Leitrim; the others were in Co. Roscommon.

29 Egan, *Journal of the Irish Railway Record Society*, No. 9, p. 119 (1951). This source contains a concise history of the line by its Engineer.

30 Tottenham and the four directors were all substantial Leitrim landowners.

junction the SLNCR joined the Sligo line of the MGWR.

The total length of the SLNCR was 42 miles 50 chains, and the headquarters and workshops were situated at Manorhamilton (in a very cramped layout). This was a direct consequence of the cheapness with which the line was built, as were the difficult banks and curves which were a notable feature of the railway. The principal places on the line were: —

PLACE	COUNTY	REMARKS
SLIGO	Sligo	) SLNCR trains ran on the ) line of, and used the sta- ) tions of the MGWR.
Ballysodare	do	
<b>Carrignagat Junction</b>	do	Starting point of SLNCR proper; no station.
Collooney	do	Station.
Ballygawley	do	Halt platform.
Ballintogher	do	Halt platform.
Dromahaire	Leitrim	Station.
Lisgorman	do	Halt — no platform; intro- duced in later days for rail- cars, boarded from lineside.
Manorhamilton	do	Station and headquarters.
Kilmakerrill	do	Halt platform.
Glenfarne	do	Station. Customs post.
Belcoo & Black Lion	Fermanagh	Station. Customs post.
Florencecourt	do	Station.
Abohill	do	Halt platform.
ENNISKILLEN	do	SLNCR trains used the GNR station.

As has been stated elsewhere,<sup>31</sup> the job of building the "Sligo-Leitrim" was an enormous task. Local labour was largely used and the workers used to walk up to 15 or 18 miles from home to work every day — all for ten shillings a week.

It is not appropriate within the scope of this review to deal with the technical aspects of the railway but it may be mentioned that in its lifetime the SLNCR made use of the services of a total of 19 steam locomotives. In addition, there was a total of 4 railbuses and railcars. The former vehicles were ordinary road buses (obtained from the GNR) specially adapted to run on rails. They proved very economical and were more than adequate to cope with the light regular passenger traffic of later years. The first railbus was introduced in 1935 and in 1947 the company purchased a new diesel railcar. This modern vehicle was most satisfactory, and it still sees occasional service on the CIE rail network of today.

31 Egan, loc. cit.

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In common with many other minor railways in Ireland, the SLNCR suffered from severe financial troubles. These culminated in the appointment of a Receiver for the period 1890-97, a situation which was redeemed only by changes in the Board and a complete reappraisal of the financial structure of the company. Thereafter the line had a bare existence, and from the 1930s it was kept going by grants from both the Dublin and Stormont Governments. The last years of the railway were marked by a desperate struggle for survival. Grants — negligible in size compared with those given to the larger neighbours of the SLNCR — were grudgingly given, but the line eventually succumbed. The closure, on 30 September 1957, was hastened by the closure of lines belonging to the GNR — an act which would have left a continuing Sligo-Leitrim without an outlet for the heavy cattle traffic which managed to survive till the end.

From the evening of 30 September 1957 the trains of the SLNCR ran no more, likewise the road services.<sup>32</sup> On the next morning, as had happened before and has happened since, a railway was replaced by CIE buses. The postscript to the history of the line was added on 28-29 April 1959, when the sound of the auctioneer's gavel echoed around Manorhamilton and the remains of Ireland's last independent privately owned railway were disposed of.

### *Cavan & Leitrim Railway*

The first definite moves to promote and construct the railway later to become dear to Leitrim people as the Cavan & Leitrim Railway were made in 1883. After a series of preliminary meetings in Ballinamore, Mohill, Drumshanbo, Ballyconnell and Boyle, the "Cavan, Leitrim & Roscommon Light Railway & Tramway Company Limited" was registered on 3 December 1883.<sup>33</sup> Suitable presentments were then sought from the Grand Juries of the relevant counties as definite plans were formulated for a light railway from the MGWR at Dromod, through Ballinamore, to Belturbet on the GNR, and for a tramway from Ballinamore to Boyle, via Drumshanbo and Arigna (Mount Allen). In 1885 the Grand Jury of Roscommon withdrew its guarantee and the promoters decided to abandon the Arigna-Boyle project. This had the result, 10 years later, of the name of the company being contracted.

Built by Collen Brothers, with the assistance of Lowry & Son of Belfast, the C & L was opened from Dromod to Belturbet

<sup>32</sup> These are described separately below.

<sup>33</sup> Flanagan, loc. cit. This source contains the full history.

for goods trains on 17 October, and passenger trains on 24 October, 1887, a total of 33½ miles. The 14½ mile Tramway to Arigna was opened on 2 May 1888.

It will suffice here to observe that this railway also had a stormy career in which both political and financial matters figured largely. A result of the strife was that the long-sought extension to the mines in the Arigna Valley was not opened until 2 June 1920, after the British Government had taken the matter in hand. It was fortunate that this extension was eventually built, as it was the access to the coal pits which enabled the line to survive until 31 March 1959. By the 1930s most of the heavy excursion, and much of the livestock traffic had gone, and it was indeed fortunate that from 1934 onwards the coal traffic grew sufficiently in volume to justify the retention of what was certainly one of Ireland's most colourful railways.<sup>34</sup>

The C & L had 8 locomotives originally and one more was added in 1904.<sup>35</sup> It is of interest to the social historian to note that the locos were named after the directors' daughters:— 1. *Isabel* (Johnstone), 2. *Kathleen* (Burrowes), 3. *Lady Edith* (Kingston), 4. *Violet* (Lawder),<sup>36</sup> 5. *Gertrude* (Clements), 6. *May* (Stewart), 7. *Olive* (Acton). Tradition holds that Col. White of Cloone would not permit the use of his daughter's name, thus No. 8 was *Queen Victoria* and the extra engine, No. 9, *King Edward*.

The closure of the C & L effectively meant the end of rail transport in Leitrim, as the situation has reverted to that of a century ago.<sup>37</sup>

The places served by the C & L are shown in the table opposite:

34 Especially as, in 1931, the then owning company, the Great Southern Railways, seriously considered plans to close the Arigna line on the expiry of the life of the track, while (oddly) retaining the Dromod-Belturbet line "in perpetuity". From GSR official records.

35 No account is taken here of "foreign" engines transferred to the line in the days of GSR and CIE operation.

36 Although James Ormsby Lawder, of Lawderdale, was not a director it was characteristic of him that his family name was represented.

37 Dromod is now Leitrim's only station; cf. note 28.

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Mohill

Rosharr

Adoon

Fenagh

Lawder

BALLIN

Garadic

Killyran

Bawnbo

Ballyhe

Ballycor

Killywil

Tomkin

BELTU

BALLIN

Ballydu

Cornab

Annada

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PLACE	COUNTY	REMARKS
DROMOD	Leitrim	Station; interchange point with MGWR.
Derreen	do	Halt. Early tentative name "Lough Rhyn".
Mohill	do	Station. Important traffic centre.
Rosharry	do	Halt (no platform; 1888-1920 only).
Adoon	do	Halt.
Fenagh	do	Halt.
Lawderdale	do	Halt. Early tentative name "Aghoo Bridge".
BALLINAMORE	do	Station & junction. H'quarters; workshops.
Garadice	do	Halt. Early tentative name "Aughawillin".
Killyran	do	Halt.
Bawnboy Road	Cavan	Station. Was "Bawnboy Road & Templeport".
Ballyheady	do	Halt.
Ballyconnell	do	Station.
Killywilly	do	Halt (no platform; 6 weeks in 1888 only).
Tomkin Road	do	Halt.
BELTURBET	do	Station; interchange point with GNR.
BALLINAMORE	Leitrim	Station.
Ballyduff	do	Halt.
Cornabrone	do	Roadside stopping place.
Annadale	do	Roadside stopping place.
Kiltubrid	do	Halt.
Creagh	do	Roadside stopping place.
Drumshanbo	do	Station.
ARIGNA	Roscommon	Station. Extension commenced here.
ARIGNA	Roscommon	Station.
Derreenavoggy	do	Coal loading stage from 1920. Terminus 1930-59.
AUGHABEHY	do	Coal loading stage 1920-30 only. Closed 1930.

## 5 : MODERN ROAD SERVICES

*The Independent Operators*

Beginning in the early 1920s, bus routes operated by small concerns — the “independents” — increased in numbers at a furious rate. Competition was fierce, and tales are still legion of the neck-and-neck racing not only along such highways as the Conyngham Road in Dublin, but also along normally peaceful rural byways. The reign of these companies was short — within about 10 years, in the early 1930s, all the Dublin City independent routes, and the majority of the country ones, had been acquired by the three major operators, the Great Southern Railways,<sup>38</sup> the Great Northern Railway and the Dublin United Tramways Company.

Because of their relatively short span of life and the necessity for the owners to spend their time in competition with rivals rather than in the keeping of records, the details of the independent companies are fast being forgotten. It is hoped that the inclusion of the relevant information in the present article will help to preserve the memory of the private bus routes in Leitrim.

Altogether, it would seem that there were three small and one large private bus companies operating in Co. Leitrim in the late 1920s and early 1930s. Details of some of these are, even now, difficult to obtain, but what information has come to hand is given below. One Leitrim concern was absorbed by the GNR on 29 July 1934;<sup>39</sup> the owner was J. McGowan of Tullaghan. The principal route was Sligo-Bundoran, but services were also operated to Lissadell, probably from Sligo. It is not certain how many vehicles (or their make) were involved, but it is thought that one, of a possible three or four buses, was a Chevrolet.

Fortunately, more information is available on the Ballinamore Bus Company, owned by Mr Jack McGovern, of Ballinamore.<sup>40</sup> This concern operated weekday services to Sligo and Bundoran. There were two buses and on summer Sundays both operated to Bundoran. One bus was a 14-seater Chevrolet with end doors and longitudinal seats, while the other was a Reo which seated at least 24 passengers. The Reo was normally on the Sligo run, and it came to grief about 1934 when a sand lorry crashed into it near Carraroe Church, just outside Sligo. Short-

38 This company was the successor — in 1933 — to the Irish Omnibus Company. The initials of the latter gave rise to the expression “One O’Clock bus”.

39 PSV Circle, Fleet list of CIE Buses, London 1966.

40 Much of this information was kindly obtained by Messrs. J. Gallogly and J. Leddy.



ly afterwards, the services of the Ballinamore Bus Company ceased for good.

Another Leitrim service was worked by the white and green "Corriga Bus".<sup>41</sup> Owned by Patrick McDonnell, this ran on market days between Carrigallen and Carrick (via Mohill), Longford and Cavan.<sup>42</sup> Probably originating about 1930, this concern was absorbed by the Erne Bus Service in 1938. The latter was started in Enniskillen in 1929 by M. F. Cassidy, who in the ensuing years built up routes from Enniskillen serving Clones, Cavan, Cootehill and Rosslea.<sup>43</sup> He retained the "Corriga Bus" routes and was one of the few Irish operators (and, in 1957, the largest, with 11 vehicles) to remain independent. The Erne survived in this form until 1957. On 1 October of that year the cross-border routes were compulsorily acquired by the Devenish Carriage & Wagon Co. Ltd, a subsidiary of the Ulster Transport Authority. The former McDonnell routes later passed to E. Maguire of Carrigallen, under whose auspices they run today.

The private routes presently operated are, in addition to the services from Carrigallen, mentioned previously, Cavan-Ballinamore-Bundoran (direct service by Jackson's of Cavan) and Carrigallen-Ballinamore-Glangevlin-Rossinver-Bundoran (operated by Maguire). These run on summer Sundays. This account is not necessarily complete, but it should serve to give an outline picture of the "independents" in Leitrim.

### SLNCR Road Services

The Sligo-Leitrim ventured into the field of road transport for passengers on 2 April 1945, when it commenced a service on the route : Sligo-Glencar-Manorhamilton-Blacklion. The route, and probably also the Company's first two buses, was acquired from H. Appleby of Enniskillen, who originated it in July 1932.<sup>44</sup> Two further buses were acquired for the introduction of another service on 12 February 1946, serving Sligo-Dromahaire-Drumkeeran-Dowra-Blacklion.<sup>45</sup> Another route, Manorhamilton-Cloonequin-Dromahaire, was opened on 5 October 1946 and just over four years later (4 November 1950) the final route serving Sligo-Moragh-Shanvas Cross was opened. In 1948 the Sligo-Leitrim ac-

41 J. Gallogly, personal communication.

42 Taylor, *Buses Illustrated*, No. 34, 1957.

43 Taylor, loc cit.

44 Corcoran, *Buses Illustrated*, No. 38, 1958. The buses were built in 1932 (IL 2058; 20-seater) and 1938 (EI 3905; 26-seater) respectively. They were sold in 1948 and 1949.

45 These were ex-GNR 32-seater Leylands, ZI 4279 and AZ 1514, built in 1930 and 1928, respectively. The latter was originally owned by H.M.S. Catherwood. Both were sold in 1953.

quired its only new buses — two Commer Commando's, which had bodies fitted by Brown of Sligo.<sup>46</sup> Services were generally infrequent, some routes having only one return service a week. An interesting off-shoot from the Dowra-Blacklion service was the diversion of the bus three days a week on schooldays from Dowra to Ballinaglera to provide a service for schoolchildren. Extra services operated on Manorhamilton Fair Days to and from Hudson's Cross and Big Bog Cross. As the buses aged, new vehicles<sup>47</sup> were obtained.

The closure of the Sligo-Leitrim railway on 30 September 1957 also meant the end of the road services, CIE buses taking over on 1 October. Most of the routes are still operated, but the workings have naturally been integrated with the other CIE services in the district. Thus the remaining "Sligo-Leitrim" services are no longer so exactly tailored to the needs of the local people as they were in the days when the buses bore the pleasing two-tone green livery of the SLNCR.

### *The Major Companies*

One of the earliest major road operators in Ireland was H. M. S. Catherwood. He formed a limited Company in the North on 20 July 1928<sup>48</sup> and before long built up a number of routes, all of which, with the sole exception of Dublin-Cork, served the northern half of the country.<sup>49</sup> Leitrim was touched by the Sligo-Derry service which passed through Tullaghan. The Catherwood services lasted until 11 December 1933 when they were compulsorily transferred to the GNR,<sup>50</sup> notwithstanding a petition with 42,000 signatures and strong protests from Sligo, Donegal and Louth County Councils.

The Ballinamore-Sligo services of the Ballinamore Bus Company have been mentioned previously; these would seem to have been preceded by those of the IOC (late 1920s), which operated on the route Cavan-Ballinamore-Sligo. The IOC was succeeded by the GSR in 1933, but it was not until about 1935

46 These were 32-seaters, EI 4907 and EI 5040. They were built in 1948 and lasted till the 1959 auction, one at least being sold to a Bundoran tour operator.

47 Strictly speaking, they were new only to the SLNCR, all being built in 1937. They were ex-GNR Gardners, ZC 1576, ZC 1850 & ZC 2269. The first was sold to Maguire, Carrigallen in 1958, the second was withdrawn in 1956 and the third in 1957.

48 Gillham, *Buses Illustrated*, No. 38, 1958.

49 One route was Dublin-Belfast which has not been worked since the days of Catherwood.

50 The Dublin-Cork route went to the GSR.

51 Details from timetables of the period; cf. note 38.



that the GSR ran its buses on this route.<sup>51</sup> Initially, the route was via Ballinamore direct to Drumshanbo and on to Sligo, but at some later date a slightly longer route, via Ballinamore, Fenagh and Keshcarrigan to Drumshanbo and Sligo, was introduced, services being provided on each route on alternate days.

These Sligo services operated along the route of the Arigna Tramway, and no doubt provided competition for the trains. There was a proposal in 1929, which fortunately came to nothing, that passenger services be withdrawn on the Ballinamore-Arigna line, leaving goods trains only. The GSR intended to replace the passenger trains with a bus operating from Ballinamore to Carrick.<sup>52</sup>

The Sligo-Derry Catherwood service passed to the GNR in late 1933 and about this time the GNR commenced services which penetrated more into North Leitrim. A bus based in Drumshanbo operated to Bundoran and Ballyshannon, serving Drumkeeran, Manorhamilton and Kinlough. On Sundays prior to the last war the same bus operated summer seaside excursions to Bundoran from Ballinamore; these were the only GNR services to operate from the latter town.<sup>53</sup> Other services were provided by GNR buses between Manorhamilton and Ballyshannon, with extra workings on fair days on portions of the main route (for example, Killarga P.O. - Manorhamilton).

All bus services at present operated in Leitrim (those based on Carrigallen excepted) are provided by CIE, and the routes are for the most part logical extensions and developments of those originated up to 35 years ago by such companies as the GNR, IOC and SLNCR. No further developments seem likely, as the combined factors of a rise in the number of cars on the roads and a declining population constitute a formidable obstacle to the extension of passenger transport by public service vehicles.

## 6 : CONCLUSION

The most recent development in Leitrim road transport<sup>54</sup> has been the introduction of additional bus services to replace the trains of the Cavan & Leitrim line. With a single one-man bus it has been found possible to provide a replacement service at a cost far less than that of the train service. While it may be argued that rail services are, of their nature, of more benefit to the community, there is no doubt that the Ballinamore-based bus gives Leitrim people along the Ballinamore-Dromod route

<sup>52</sup> Official GSR records.

<sup>53</sup> Details from timetables of the period.

<sup>54</sup> Apart from the 1967 introduction of School Services, which are limited to schoolchildren and are not properly public transport.

a service far above that offered in many other parts of rural Ireland.

A study of these bus workings over the years since the C & L was closed leads to the interesting conclusion that the movement of people (and goods) has indeed very nearly come full circle. The services to Arigna and Drumshanbo, and to Bel-turbet, have been whittled away until any further reduction will mean that services will be concentrated solely in the Dromod direction, and those wishing to travel to places beyond Ballinamore will have to use private transport.

Unless there is some extraordinary social upheaval, the present public transport services in Leitrim will remain more or less static. Should any further reduction occur in the scope of operations one can regard an interesting chapter of Leitrim social history as being at an end.

Finally, I wish to express my indebtedness to all who have assisted in the preparation of this article, in particular to Messrs. J. Gallogly and J. W. de Courcy.

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# The Topography of The Loch Ramor Region

by

Philip O'Connell, M.Sc., Ph.D.

## I

The titles of many lakes, rivers and mountains, constitute our oldest place names. As permanent physical features of the landscape they have more than a local connotation and are thus less susceptible to conventional changes in nomenclature. Since many are derived from mythological personages of prehistoric times, who find no place in the historical record, their origins are now indeterminable. Many examples occur in the Breifne region.

### LOCH MUINREAMHAIR

In the early manuscript sources Loch Ramor occurs as Loch Muinreamhair with occasional variants. In a passage, which however is not to be interpreted too literally, the Annals of the Four Masters, Anno Mundi 2859, record that two lakes burst forth — Loch Dairbhreach (Derravarragh, in the present Co. Westmeath) and “Loch Muinreamhair in Luigne in Sliabh Guaire”. There will always be a large element of doubt concerning the accuracy of those early dates, but the topographical definitions are of greater significance.

The name Muinreamhair is of tribal origin far beyond the ken of history. From some very early references it is evident that branches of this prehistoric people, the Cenel or Tribe of Muinreamhair, were located at widely separated points in which some centuries later became the territory of Breifne. In the *Vita Tripartita* — Tripartite Life of St Patrick — redacted from earlier sources and compiled in its present form between the years 895 and 901, it is related how the saint after leaving Drumlease went “into the Glens eastward where the Cenel Muinremain is today”.

From the context it is clear that the glens here referred to

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1 *Rolls Tripartite*, I, p. 144.

are near the western seaboard, and in the present Co. Leitrim; they include Glenfarne, Glenade, Glencar, Glenboy, and a few others in the baronies of Dromahaire and Rosclogher. Some commentators, including such trustworthy authorities as Colgan, Lanigan and Reeves, have conjectured that the glens of the text are the Glens of Antrim, which is manifestly absurd. In his Index to the *Vita Tripartita* Dr Whiteley Stokes reaches an equally impossible conclusion when he identifies the territory of the Cenel Muinreamhair with the Loch Ramor region of Co. Cavan. The similarity of place names has misled many editors, but one conclusion may, however, be drawn from the available evidence : that there were at least two branches of the Cenel Muinreamhair in very early times — one in the north of the present Co. Leitrim and the other in south-east Co. Cavan.

The ancient lake name in itself provides ample evidence that a branch of the Cenel Muinreamhair was in possession of the district of Loch Ramor at some period earlier than the historical record. The literal meaning of the term muinreamhair is "fat-neck", and appears to be derived from the patronymic applied to some prehistoric ancestor, most probably eponymous. In certain myths and legends coming down from prehistoric times, for instance in the Fomorian legends, we find the title, a generic one, applied to some semi-mythical warriors and connoting great physical strength. Irish mythology abounds in such patronymics. In the ancient geographical tract known as *Dindsenchas Erenn* there is a reference to Maine, son of Munremair, who was said to have been buried at Tara. It has been conjectured that this may be the name of a divinity.<sup>2</sup>

The documentary evidence is insufficient to enable us to reconstruct the history or origins of the Cenel Muinreamhair of Loch Ramor. In the written record they are not brought into association with the Luigni and Gailenga who flourished from the third century onwards, and it must be inferred that they had already passed from the scene. The lake name is now the sole survival of that ancient race. Even in Irish mythology they receive only scant notice.

In the various manuscript sources the forms of the name, Loch Muinreamhair or Muinreamair, are in substantial agreement. The form Mundremair is found in the Book of Ballymote and in the Book of Lecan. All these locate it in the territory of the Luigni of Sliabh Guaire which will be discussed later. The "Logh Rawre" of the 1609 map represents the early seventeenth century pronunciation. A reference to the lake name in the Stowe MSS in the Royal Irish Academy has "Luirgnib Sléve Guaire", which from the context would seem to have been an

2 Macalister, *Temair Breg*, p. 257.

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early form of the parish name.<sup>3</sup>

### GLACIAL DEPOSITS

The configuration of Loch Ramor, and the presence of glacial deposits and striated rock surfaces, shows that it occupies a glaciated valley. A brief account of the geology of the district will explain this. In the period classified by geologists as the Post-Pliocene vast glaciers, i.e. ice rivers, spread over the greater part of the country. This is known as the Glacial Epoch, or the Great Ice Age, calculated to be about 30,000 B.C. when the ice sheet covered the land and attained a height of several thousand feet. There is evidence to show that what has been termed The Great Central Snow Field extended from Loch Erne to Loch Neagh and from this locus glaciers radiated in every direction moving at a slow rate.<sup>4</sup> In the course of its motion the glacier collected masses of stone, gravel and clay — known as *detritus* — which falling through fissures in the ice were ground under great pressure against the rock-bed of the glacier. As a result the glacier scratched and polished the rocks over which it moved leaving well-defined scores or grooves, known as *striations*, and from the direction of these, with the accuracy of a compass-needle, it is possible to determine the direction of the glacier motion.<sup>5</sup> The glacier also transported stone boulders, sometimes of immense size, which were deposited when the ice receded. Some of these, known to geologists as glacial boulders or erratics, may be seen on the lake shore and in the surrounding countryside. Alongside the little lake at Mullagh are some of these boulders, showing striations.

In Cavan and Meath, as may be inferred from the direction of the striations, the movement of the glacier was from north-west to south-east. Great masses of detritus were carried along and deposited at various points, depending on the contour of the terrain, forming characteristic egg-shaped mounds composed of boulder clay and striated stones. In the Breifne region these mounds are known as *drumlins* and sometimes utilised

<sup>3</sup> *Onomasticon Goedelicum*, s.v. Loch Muinreamair.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. W. Fitzgerald, *The Historical Geography of Early Ireland*; Wright, *The Quaternary Ice Age*.

<sup>5</sup> An observer at the Swiss glaciers will see the same geological processes in progress; there it has been found by experiment that the rate of the ice flow is about one foot per day: But this varies with the slope of the terrain, and most probably during the Glacial Epoch in Central Ireland it was considerably less. Again, there were many advances and recessions depending on the as yet imperfectly understood climatic changes which took place in geological time.

as sandpits. A few of these, as might be expected from the direction of the ice flow, may be observed at the south-east extremity of Loch Ramor, near the source of the Blackwater. In every case it is evident that the direction of the ice flow which formed them was parallel to the major axis of the drumlin.

When the glacier melted the water collected in the hollow forming the lake. Some of the lakes of the Central Plain had a similar origin. The rounded stones, characteristic of glacial action, which may be seen beside the source of the Blackwater now spanned by a bridge, represent a terminal moraine.

### AN EARLY CHRISTIAN FOUNDATION

Some references to an early Christian foundation in the Loch Muinreamhair region are to be found in the Irish Martyrologies. The Martyrology of Donegal enters, at 6 February, the festival of SS Brandubh and Coluim of Loch Muinreamhair. There is a similar entry in the Felire of Gorman and other Irish Calendars. The entries are undated and it must be inferred that those personages flourished at a period very shortly after the introduction of Christianity in the fifth century. Annalistic entries for that period are comparatively few.

No traditions or other links pertaining to those early saints have survived, and the locus of their monastic foundation may only be conjectured. But it may be assumed that, in accordance with the circumstances of the times, it was on an island. One of the islands had mediaeval ecclesiastical associations; its earlier name is not recorded, but since the early eighteenth century it has been known locally as Woodward's Island, and geographically is regarded as belonging to the townland of Pollintemple.

As will be described more fully later on, there was in early mediaeval times a church on the island belonging to the Augustinian Abbey of Kells. But there was a persistent local tradition that at some early period monks had lived there and that they were killed by robbers who plundered the church. As will appear later, this may present a composite picture of events; but the legend is significant and, at any rate, the monastic tradition was most likely already established before the thirteenth century when the site was acquired by the Abbey of Kells. We have many such examples of ecclesiastical continuity.

The *Vita Tripartita* refers to a "Presbyter Columb", a contemporary of St Patrick, who was assigned to the charge of



a church at a place named Cluain Ernain,<sup>6</sup> identified with Clonarnsey, Co. Westmeath. Whether the patron of Cluain Ernain was identical with St Coluim of Loch Muinreamhair cannot be established, but probably he was. Neither St Coluim nor St Brandubh is entered in the Annals, for fifth century entries are scanty. The name Brandubh, applied to members of regal lines, occur in the Annals, e.g., in the Four Masters, 586, 593, 594, etc. The death of Brandubh, king of Leinster, is entered at 601.

Christianity was introduced to the valley of the Blackwater by St Patrick himself, a century earlier than the time of St Colmcille. We have it on the authority of the *Vita Tripartita* that St Patrick founded a church at a place named Ath-da-laarc — the ford of the two forks — on the Blackwater. The site was at a point about a mile to the east of Kells, on the left bank of the Blackwater and within the present Headfort demesne. Whether he visited the Loch Ramor region is not recorded — some of the places mentioned in the *Vita Tripartita* cannot now be identified — but that his influence extended to there is evident from the many holy wells and churches dedicated to him. As the races known as the Luigni and the Gailenga then ruled over the Blackwater and Loch Ramor regions it may be inferred that he sent missionaries throughout their territories, and that SS Coluim and Brandubh were among their number.

There are many reasons for concluding that it was on Woodward's Island rather than on the larger and more easily accessible Ballaghanea Island that the early monastic foundation was established. The local tradition is positive and the topography of Woodward's Island adds additional support. Defence and security were all-important considerations. Traces of earthworks and stone ditches are to be seen around the edges and on the mainland in the immediate vicinity. The channel separating the island from the mainland is narrow but deep, and would appear to have been further deepened at some period. Even at low water it can be crossed only by boat. On the island are traces of an early boathouse. The many phases in the island's history will be described later.

On the other hand, Ballaghanea Island is more easily accessible and at periods of very low water, during dry summers, is connected to the mainland by a dry causeway. Owing to its position and comparatively easy accessibility it was unsuited for defensive purposes. The absence of earthworks either on the island or on the adjoining mainland (that is, dating from early times) would show that no attempt was made to fortify it. There are some traces of buildings but these belong to the

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<sup>6</sup> *Rolls Tripartite*, I, p. 75.

1610-12 period and were provided to house the workmen introduced by the Jacobean colonists.

Woodward's Island is at a comparatively high level and less liable to be affected by flooding at high water. According to the 1836 Ordnance Survey its area is 2 acres 14 perches. The six-inch map of the 1913 Ordnance Survey gives it as 2 acres 36 perches. The Blackwater drainage scheme of the last century may account for the difference. An account of the mediaeval monastic island church will appear later.

### SLIABH GUAIRE

The various Annals have frequent references to Sliabh Guaire, the hilly district extending over a great part of the south and east of the present Co. Cavan. O'Donovan in one place suggests that it was a part of the barony of Clankee,<sup>7</sup> but it was of much greater extent for it included sections of the present baronies of Castlerahan, Tullygarvey and Upper Loughtee. That the district around Loch Ramor was included in it is evident from the Annals as well as from several other references. The 1609 baronial map shows "Slemgory Mountain" comprising a large section of Loughtee barony. Like most ancient territories it was an area of indeterminate extent, with no definitive boundary lines, and deriving its title from some prehistoric personage or the eponymous ancestor of the races inhabiting it. The title was not applied to any particular mountain but rather to the hilly district — *terra montana*. Within the historic period several personages named Guaire are mentioned in the Annals.

The Four Masters, A.D. 1105, refer to an invasion of Meath by Muirheartach Ua Briain who burned the corn. The corresponding entry in the Annals of Inisfallen adds that from Meath he raided Sliabh Guaire "and took innumerable cows and spoils from the Ui Briuin". The Four Masters, 1130, record that a battle was gained at Sliabh Guaire by Tighearnan Ua Ruairc and the Ui Briuin over the men of Meath wherein were slain Ua Maeleachlain, king of Teamhair, and many others.

An Inquisition held at Cavan in 1618 specifies the boundaries of Sliabh Guaire, part of the estate of Philip O'Reilly whose lands were declared forfeited.<sup>8</sup> The boundaries are defined in great detail, evidently by surveyors well acquainted with the terrain, and would require a more detailed topographical study than is possible here. On the south-east perimeter lay the townlands of Siffin (Seefin) and Tonefoile (Tonyfoyle) in Knockbride parish; Dromenaspicke in Killann parish; Greagha-

<sup>7</sup> O'Donovan, *The Book of Rights*, p. 188 note.

<sup>8</sup> *Patent Rolls*, James I.



dossan, Coolenecally (Coolnacola), Goolagh (Gola), Doreym (Derryham), Loughmoylet (Moylett), Bogaisky (Bogesky) and Lurganure in Killinkere parish. On the north-west perimeter lay Monecass (Moneycass), Drumcarplin (Drumcalpin) and Carrickalin (Carrickallen) in Laragh parish.

But it must be clearly understood that the Sliabh Guaire as defined in 1618 represented only the estate of Philip O'Reilly and refers to a much more restricted area than the Sliabh Guaire of the Annals. The territorial title appears to have survived down to the early part of the last century when O'Donovan was compiling his Ordnance Survey Letters, 1836. The Down Survey, 1654, has a denomination "Slewgole", now represented by Gola (Goolagh, *supra*) and Greaghadossan in the district of Killinkere; it is a survival of the early territorial title.

### THE FEABHAILL

The Sliabh Guaire region is drained by several small meandering rivers which in early times may have been known by Celtic, or pre-Celtic, names most of which are long since obsolete. In a few cases, e.g. the Inny (flowing into Loch Sheelan) and the Barora (flowing into the Blackwater, near Navan), the early names survive.

The Virginia River — it is marked as such on Taylor and Skinner's map, 1777 — rises in the hilly terrain to the north-east of Baillieboro and bordering the townland of Rahardrum on the west flows into Loch Ramor. The configuration of the river valley shows that in geological time it carried a much more copious volume of water than at present. It is marked, unnamed, on the maps of 1609 and 1654.

In the Annalistic records it is named the *Feabhail*, *Feabail* or *Fabhall*. An entry in the Four Masters, under the year 1054, reads :

Loch Suidhe Odhrain in Sliabh Guaire migrated in the end of the night of the festival of [St] Michael and went into the *Feabhail* which was a great wonder to all.

The corresponding entry in the Annals of Ulster has it that

The lake of Suidhe Odhrain in Sliabh Guaire stole away in the end of the night of the festival of [St] Michael and went into the *Fabhall*, a thing that had not been heard of from ancient times.

The event is also chronicled under the same year in the Annals of Loch Cé, the Annals of Tigernach and the Chronicon Scottorum. Suidhe Odhrain is the present townland of Seeoran in the parish of Knockbride and barony of Clankee.

O'Donovan suggests, incorrectly however, that Feabhail was "the name of a stream which discharges itself into the Boyne" which would seem to imply that it was a tributary of the Boyne. The compilers of the *Onomasticon Goedelicum*, s.v. "Febail", equally uncertain as to its location, adopt the same error. That it ultimately reaches the Boyne, after its course through Loch Ramor and the Blackwater, would be more correct.

A later reference to the river name is found in the Royal Irish Academy manuscript D. IV 2, written in the year 1300 at Kilcormac in Offaly and describing the supposed boundary of the kingdom of Meath in the first century.<sup>9</sup> According to this the boundary passed through Uachtar Achaidh (Oughteragh, Co. Leitrim) "and from that to Drumlane and from that to the *Febal* and from that to the confluence of Clones, etc."

The river name is long since obsolete, but O'Donovan's suggestion that it survives in the element *foyle* in the townland name Tonyfoyle, in Knockbride parish, has much to recommend it.<sup>10</sup> This may be taken as representing *Tamhnach Feabhail* — the meadow-land of the Feabhail — and provides a key to the early pronunciation. The 1609 map has Tonyfoile; the river, unnamed, is shown; Tonefoile — 1618 Inquisition. The Vale Meadows, near Bailieboro, may be another survival of the early name.

The name appears to be etymologically cognate with *Feabhail* which occurs in the Annals as the early form of the Foyle River in Co. Derry.<sup>11</sup> A mythological origin is ascribed to it; the genealogists, pretending to establish an origin for everything and unable to trace its elusive sources, were obliged to derive it from a fountain-head far beyond the vision of history.

The phenomenon of the sudden disappearance of Loch Suidhe Odhrain as recorded in the Annals seems to belong to the type of geological freak of which examples have been reported in Ireland even in recent times. Subsidences or landslides account for these, especially in sandy or marshy districts. In the townland of Seeoran may be seen the morass which was evidently at one time the bed of a lake.

### NEOLITHIC STRUCTURES

In the townland of Ballaghanea, close to the shore of Loch Ramor, is a megalith or dolmen of the Neolithic or Later Stone Age when man made his first appearance in the country; it is

<sup>9</sup> *Archivium Hibernicum*, I, p. 5.

<sup>10</sup> *Ordnance Survey Letters*, Co. Cavan, 1836.

<sup>11</sup> V. Four Masters, A.M. 3581; A.D. 864, 893.



the "Giant's Grave" of the Ordnance Survey maps. The name dolmen is of Celtic origin and is the Breton *dael maen*, or stone table. These monuments are known in various districts by imaginatives names, e.g. "Druids' Altars", "Giants' Graves", "Cromleacs", "Leaba Dhiarmuda agus Grainne" — based on the ancient Celtic legend of Diarmaid and Grainne; *leaba* has here a sepulchral connotation.

A dolmen may be described as a stone structure of the tomb type with stone uprights supporting a massive capstone. These megaliths, of which many examples are to be seen in Breifne, are classified as *primary* and *secondary* depending on their construction. In the primary, or earth-fast, type one end of the great capstone rests on the earth, or on a small stone base, while the other is supported by the uprights. In the secondary type, which is the more elaborate, the raised capstone rests entirely on the supports. The Ballaghanea dolmen is of the secondary type; the capstone, now displaced and lying alongside, was supported by four upright pillar stones. There is another example of the secondary type, in a ruinous condition, in the townland of Raffony in Mullagh parish. In most cases the collapse of the capstone has resulted from the crude excavations of treasure-seekers in search of the ubiquitous "crock of gold" — the later-day *Argonautae* in quest of the *Golden Fleece* of Greek mythology. Elsewhere in cases where dolmens have been carefully explored traces of primitive burials have been discovered showing that they were constructed as tombs by Neolithic Man.

There is an interesting group of dolmens, of both types, in Crosserlough parish. In the townland of Aghawee, near Drumkilly, is an example of the secondary type, in a good state of preservation; it consists of two large capstones resting on five uprights slanting into one another and on these the capstones are poised in stable equilibrium. The height of the structure is about eight feet and the internal chamber has a flagstone at each end. The Duffcastle dolmen, of the primary type, has as the capstone an immense boulder — a glacial erratic utilised for the purpose — with one end resting on a flatstone and the other on an upright about five feet in height. Near the summit of the hill in Carrickacroy is a dolmen of the secondary type but the capstone has long since been displaced. Traces of other dolmens, now uprooted and their main features no longer recognizable, have been observed in land clearances.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>12</sup> Borlase in his classic work, *The Dolmens of Ireland*, has hardly any reference to the Breifne dolmens; few of them had then been mapped.

These megaliths belong to the Neolithic<sup>13</sup> period which is estimated to have ended in Ireland about 2000 B.C.; they have a particular archaeological interest as they are practically the sole remaining links with Stone Age Man in the Ireland of some four thousand years ago. With regard to their geographical distribution, they have the highest concentration in maritime counties, e.g. Waterford, Sligo, Donegal, Cork, Kerry, Galway, Clare and elsewhere. The occurrence of the south-east Breifne group in an inland area is unusual.

These megalithic structures are not peculiar to Ireland; they are found, exhibiting the same structural designs in Wales and Cornwall and in Brittany in France as might be expected from the Breton origin of the name — *dael maen*. I have observed a few, of the secondary type, in the district of Nantes in Brittany. As in Ireland the Breton people attribute them to "giants" — *les géants*.

The problem of raising these enormous capstones and adjusting them in position was of no small magnitude. No doubt it was accomplished by levers on a prepared inclined plane of sand or clay. The discovery of the principle of the inclined plane, the earliest machine in pre-history, is attributed to Archimedes; at any rate, it was utilised by the Egyptians as well as by the Greeks and Romans.

### BRONZE AGE ROCK-MARKINGS

South-west of Loch Ramor, near the summit of the elevated ridge in Ballydorrach townland in Munterconnacht parish, are some remarkable Bronze Age rock-markings or *petroglyphs*; they occur on the glacialised surface of an inclined bed of lower Silurian grit. They were first observed over a century ago by George V. Du Noyer, who was engaged on the Geological Survey of Ireland in the summer of 1864. He sketched them and added some descriptive particulars:<sup>14</sup>

The markings are all produced by simple scraping with a saw-like motion; and some of them, if not all, must have been formed by a metal instrument. The figures most commonly represented are detached straight-armed crosses; but not unfrequently these are so grouped or clustered together as to form a network of lines crossing in every direction; in two instances these crosses are inclosed in four lines, or rather an oblong rectangular figure is crossed from angle to angle; sometimes a single line is crossed by

<sup>13</sup> Greek, *neos*, new; *lithos*, a stone.

<sup>14</sup> Du Noyer, "Remarks on a Carved Rock at Ryefield, County of Cavan", *Jour. R.S.A.I.*, Vol. V (1865), pp. 379 seq.



two smaller lines near each other, and again one arm of the cross is terminated by a short blunt line, or an arrow-headed depression; all these markings, from the mode of their construction, are deeper at the central portion of the lines than at the extremities, which fine off.

Du Noyer also observed some small rectangular, as well as arrow-headed, notches produced by chiselling and sharp in outline. He reproduces a lithograph copied from his original sketch.

The rock-markings occur on a surface measuring about eleven feet by nine; only a section of the total surface is marked. Another well-defined feature of the rock-surface is the glacial *striations*, already mentioned. The rock dips at an angle of 35 degrees to the north, with the glacial *striations* bearing 40 degrees west of north and east of south and up the inclined plane. This is in conformity with the observations on the direction of the iceflow during the Glacial Epoch, as made elsewhere.

Authorities are generally agreed that the Bronze Age in Ireland extended from about 2000 B.C. to about 350 B.C. when the Early Iron Age began.<sup>15</sup> The Ballydorrageh *petroglyphs*, which are of a simpler type, would appear to belong to the earlier period of the Bronze Age. They had either a decorative or symbolic significance, and are similar to some of the designs found in the sepulchral chambers of the cairns at Sliabh na Caillighe (the Loughcrew hills). Since the designs follow a definite geometrical plan it may be accepted that they represent some symbolic system which can no longer be interpreted.<sup>16</sup>

There is a Bronze Age mound, long since partially uprooted and defaced, with a flat covering slab at the summit of the hill of Mullagh. It was sepulchral but no ornamented stones can now be traced.

### EARLY COLONISATION

Of the races who colonised Breifne in the Stone Age and the succeeding Bronze Age — the great vacuum of pre-history — little can be ascertained and the field of speculation, with theories being advanced and in turn rejected, is an open one. Excavations provide the most promising line of research. In the Celtic period we enter the realms of history, dim perhaps but giving a starting-point.

For about two centuries before the time of St Patrick, and for some centuries afterwards, the district around Loch Ramor was inhabited by a people known as the Luigni who were close-

15 Coffey, *The Bronze Age in Ireland*, p. 5.

16 V. Macalister, *Ireland in Pre-Celtic Times*, passim.

ly associated with a kindred people the Gailenga.<sup>17</sup> An early reference in the Four Masters (*supra*) makes it clear that Loch Ramor was in the territory of the Luigni of Sliabh Guaire. They were essentially a warlike people introduced from the western seaboard and established here about the third century, one of a chain of "buffer states" to guard the frontiers of the kingdom of Tara.<sup>18</sup> Traces of many of their residences, raths and lioses usually termed ring-forts, abound in the region.

The island (now Woodward's) in Loch Ramor comes into prominence in the Annals under the year 845 when Maelseachlainn, king of Meath, led an attack on it and exterminated a band of marauders who had established a stronghold there. The Four Masters under that year chronicle the event :

The demolition of the island of Loch Muinreamhair by Maelseachlainn, son of Maelruanaidh, against a great crowd of sons of death [i.e. malefactors] of the Luighni and Gailenga who were plundering the districts at the instigation of the foreigners [i.e. the Norsemen]; and they were destroyed by him.

The corresponding entry in the Annals of Ulster, under the year 846, has it that :

Maelsechnaill, son of Maelruanaidh, begins to reign. The demolition of the island of Loch Muinremar by Maelsechnaill against a great band of sons of death of the Luighne and Gailenga who were plundering the districts after the manner of the Gentiles (*more Gentilium*).

The local tradition that a battle was fought here among a party of robbers who, after plundering the island church disagreed among themselves on the division of the spoils and fought the matter to a finish, may be an echo down the centuries of this ninth century affray. A hillock in the district of Ballaghanea, locally known as *Cnoc Fola*, the hill of blood, is traditionally indicated as the scene of the encounter.

The decline of the kingdom of Tara in the sixth century led to the disintegration of the Luigni and Gailenga, and of other minor states as well, and with the coming of the Norsemen or Danes (who made their first recorded appearance on the coast of Co. Dublin in 795) there followed a few centuries of turmoil and internal dissensions, marked by burnings and plunderings to which there are frequent references in the Annals. It is recorded that Kells was burned in 802 (*recte* 807), and similar

17 *Breifne*, Vol. I, No. 1, pp. 3 seq. The baronies of Lune and Morgallion in Co. Meath receive their titles from these early races.

18 Their homeland was in the baronies of Leyny, Co. Sligo, and Gallen, Co. Mayo, which preserve their names.

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entries occur for two centuries afterwards. In other respects the Loch Ramor affray of 845 is significant; it shows that the island stronghold was a formidable one, well fortified and strongly defended by a large force. Furthermore, the Norsemen were not alone in their campaign of plunder but had native elements as allies. Some of the entries in the Annals mention that Kells was plundered by the Norsemen, but from other notices it may be inferred that native forces were responsible. There are other references in the Annals which reveal an occasional alliance between the Norsemen and marauding bands of the Irish; and this was the case at Loch Ramor which well illustrates the lawless tendency of the age. When the common policy was one of plunder there was little differentiation of race.

Maelseachlainn, king of Meath, who led the attack at Loch Ramor was, as we learn from the Annals, then engaged in an intensive warfare over a wide area against the Norsemen and their adherents. A few years earlier, in 843, he had already attacked and captured Turgeis, "lord of the foreigners", and had him drowned in Loch Owel, in the present Co. Westmeath.

The Annals show that kings of the Luigni and Gailenga continued to rule over a large section of the Meath-Breifne territory until the twelfth century, just before the coming of the Anglo-Normans.

### BEALACH AN FHEADHA

The topography of the district is clearly illustrated in its place names. There is abundant evidence that in very early times, and in the mediaeval period, it was well wooded; we find *coill* and *fiodh* (gen. *feadha*) connoting woodlands. Farther back, in the Stone and Bronze Ages, the areas now comprising extensive boglands were covered with woods, *the forest primeval*, as may be deduced from the massive trunks of mighty oaks which are often unearthed at considerable depths in the bogs. From the depth of the peat layers in which they occur it may be estimated that some of them date back to Neolithic times. Sometime perhaps a Jessen pollination analysis may determine their approximate period.

From the north and west the approach to the Loch Ramor district must have been very difficult on account of the bogs, swamps and woods. From the south-east the River Blackwater may have made access easier, and probably the Norsemen utilised it. An ancient roadway leading from Kells to Cavan and Drumlane passed close to the north-east shore; this gave its name to the townland of Ballaghanea (*Bealach an Fheadha*,

the roadway of the wood). The place is mentioned in the Four Masters sub anno 572

The fifth year of Aedh. The battle of Doete, which is called Bealach-fheadha, by Aedh, son of Ainmire, against the men of Meath where fell Colman Beg, son of Diarmaid.

The Annals of Ulster, 592, chronicle the battle of Bealach Dhaite in which was slain Colman Bec. An entry in the Book of Leinster refers to Colman Beg mac Diarmait as a turbulent king of Uisneach (in the present Co. Westmeath) who had been leading raiding expeditions into the neighbouring territories.

In an early Life of St Canice of Ossory it is told how the saint had already reprimanded Colman Beg for his deeds of violence. It is added how a few years later than the battle of Bealach an Fheadha he (St Canice) was passing through the district (probably on a visit to Drumlane) and observing a cross was informed that it marked the spot where Colman Beg had been slain.<sup>19</sup>

In his annotations to the Annals O'Donovan identifies Bealach Feda, or Bealach Daite, with Bealach an Fheadha of Loch Ramor. Hennessy, in his notes to the Annals of Ulster, accepts this identification. Other less probable identifications have been suggested.<sup>20</sup>

At the dawn of history, when the Luigni and the Gailenga were in occupation, the district of Bealach an Fheadha, connoting the line of the route, would have extended over a large area. This was a section of an important roadway leading from Meath into the heart of Breifne. As late as 1654, as shown on the Down Survey map of the barony of Kells, it led from Kells on the right bank of the Blackwater, by Castlekieran, crossing into Co. Cavan by a ford now spanned by Daly's Bridge. The Meath section was earlier known as *Bealach Duin*, the ancient name of Castlekieran,<sup>21</sup> and of this Bealach an Fheadha was the continuation. The difficult nature of the Breifne terrain, bogs and marshes, made this the only feasible route. For geographical reasons names of roadways are less liable to become obsolete. The alternative form of the name, Bealach Daite, appears to be of personal or tribal origin.

Bordering Loch Ramor near its eastern extremity is the townland of Carrakeelty — *Carraig Coillte*, the rock of the woods; it is the Carigkilty of the 1609 map. The large limestone formation which gave its name to the townland is now used as

19 Carrigan, *The Diocese of Ossory*, II, 30; Kelly, *The Martyrology of Tallaght*, pp. 140-141.

20 *Onomasticon Goedelicum*, s.v. "Belach feda".

21 V. Four Masters, 770, 778, 855, 868, 949, etc.

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a quarry. The Ordnance Survey Name Books, 1836, have *Caradh Caoilte*, Keelty's fish weir, deriving it from a personal name; it is an example of the many misleading interpretations, *volksetymologie*, entered in the Name Books by O'Donovan's assistants. The early maps were not available at that time.

### EARTHWORKS

The earthen circumvallations, popularly known as ring-forts, occur in large numbers in the district; they are survivals from the time of the early races, the Luigni and Gailenga, who occupied it before the historic period and until the coming of the Anglo-Normans. Valuable historic data may be gleaned from the structure and distribution of these earthworks. Their Gaelic equivalents — *ráth*, *lios* and *dún* — have left their imprint on the toponymy of the countryside. In later times these terms have come to be accepted as practically synonymous, but it is clear that there were originally precise distinctions, or rather classifications, not now understood. It has been suggested that *rath* was applied to the rampart and fosse defences and that *lios* was used to describe the open space within the enclosure,<sup>22</sup> but no general rule can be formulated to suit every region.

In general, the homesteads of the inhabitants were inside the earthen enclosures; but these cannot have been in all cases fortified outposts hence the generic term "fort" is only applicable in certain cases. The houses, constructed of wood, were surrounded by one or two, or sometimes three, earthen rings or circumvallations. In some cases souterrains, or underground passages or chambers, have been discovered and no doubt excavations would reveal many others.

What Prof. Oliver Davies terms Steep Hilltop Rathes are the commonest in Breifne; they are usually situated on hilltops and frequently on one of the shoulders.<sup>23</sup> The centre is usually circular and from twenty to thirty yards or more in diameter. Some of the raths have a raised centre surrounded by a massive fosse and on this raised fosse was the wooden residence or in the case of some of the larger raths perhaps of two or more. In most cases there is only one ring but in some of the larger raths there may have been two or more, the outer ones having been demolished during agricultural operations in comparatively recent times. In some cases traces of these rings may still be detected, and aerial photography may reveal others.

A depression in the outer ring usually shows the entrance to the rath. Where souterrains exist they are usually approached

<sup>22</sup> Maire and Liam de Paor, *Early Christian Ireland*, pp. 79-80.

<sup>23</sup> *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, Vol. X, 2.

from the steep side of the fosse and the entrance may be marked by a slab or stone facing. The existence and extent of such a souterrain is of course a matter for skilled archaeological exploration, and not for the amateur. The exact purpose of these chambers has been the subject of much speculation, but most likely they were used for storage. Sometimes they are found at places not associated with raths, or perhaps the raths have already been removed. Where souterrains have been explored they rarely have revealed anything of interest, or any evidence to help in dating them.

The raths or lioses of the Loch Ramor region, mostly of the single ring type, display no special characteristics nor does their geographical distribution appear to follow any particular plan. They are not aligned in strategic order and in most cases are situated either on hilltops or on rising or sloping terrain; this may account for the popular belief that from each one at least two others are visible. In one townland I have observed three and in another four, forming groups, while in others there are no traces. Their locations, unlike those of early churches, are not in any way related to early road systems clearly indicating that their builders preferred more secluded sites.

In the region to the north-east of Loch Ramor the 1836 Ordnance Survey indicates raths in the following townlands: Pollintemple, one; Lisduff, one; Edenburt, four; Drumheel, one; Ballaghanea, two; Fartagh, two (and one which escaped notice); Lislea, two; Cornashesk, two; Rahardrum, two. But the Survey was not complete and neither was the later Survey of 1913. A more detailed local study of these earthworks, with measurements and descriptions noting any special characteristics would be very desirable. Such a Townland Survey is already in progress in Co. Louth and the results appear in the *Co. Louth Archaeological Journal*. In cases where raths may have been destroyed local particulars could be established from tradition.

With regard to the age of these structures — for they may not all belong to the same period — it would be impossible to decide without excavation which is a slow and exacting process. The earlier ones are certainly pre-Christian and some may belong to the Bronze Age. Elsewhere in Breifne, as may be inferred from surviving circumvallations some were adapted as sites for early Christian churches.

Some raths may have been continued in use as residences until the eleventh or twelfth centuries. Owing to the prevailing conditions people may have found it necessary to live in groups and the population was not so scattered as in later times. They were a warlike people in an age of turmoil, always subject to attack, shunning lines of communication and primarily con-

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cerned with defence. As Prof. Davies surmises, it is not likely that there were more than ten or fifteen people per rath. There was no equivalent to the country town or village, except for a few monasteries, and a county like Cavan would at most have contained about ten per cent of its present population. Certain districts which have a large concentration of raths, e.g., Dunaree — *Dún na Ríogh* — the site of the present Kingscourt, in Enniskeen parish — must have been centres of large population groups. Dunaree was one of the principal Gailenga strongholds.

Of 127 townland names in Co. Cavan those beginning with *Lios*, or *Lis*, number 74, with *Ráth* 36 and with *Dún* 17.<sup>24</sup> The Dun names are comparatively few; it forms the second element in a few cases, e.g. *Machaire Dún* and *Druim Dún* (Drumgoon). It was generally applied to a fortified enclosure or the residence of some important personage. All three forms occur in the Loch Ramor district, e.g. Magheradoon, Rathardrum, Lislea, and some others shown on the seventeenth century maps and now obsolete. In rocky terrain the *caiseal* was the equivalent of the earthen rath, e.g. *Achadh an Chaisil* (Aghacashel).

As Prof. Mac Airt explains, in a survey of the toponymy of Co. Armagh, it is not easy to give a satisfactory explanation of the distribution of these terms. *Ráth* is found on the European mainland but not in Britain except in areas of Irish colonisation. *Dún* is well-attested for Ireland, Britain and the Continent. *Lios* occurs mainly in Ireland and Britain. It has been suggested that we may have here settlement terms of three distinct linguistic groups : *Dún* (probably) the earliest; *Lios* intermediate, and *Ráth* Goidelic.<sup>25</sup> The dating of the Goidelic invasion, the latest of the Celtic invasions of Ireland, is obscure but as Prof. T. F. O'Rahilly argues it appears to have taken place about the beginning of the Christian era — the first century B.C. or the first or second century, A.D.<sup>26</sup>

On elevated ground in Rathardrum townland is a prominent earthwork from which the townland takes its name — *Ráth ard-druim* (*ard-druim* is here an indeclinable compound noun). O'Donovan, Ordnance Survey Name Books, 1836, notes that on the highest point of the hill, 394 feet above sea level, is an earthwork locally known as *Lissurely* for which he suggests *Lios Urthaile* which he would derive from a personal name — but he cites no authority. The earthwork is shown, *Lissurely*, on the 1836 Ordnance Survey; it is in the north-west end of the townland adjoining Aghnadrung. The Lurgan parish

24 *Breifne*, Vol. I, No. 1, p. 15.

25 *Proceedings of the Irish Catholic Historical Committee*, 1955, p. 3.

26 O'Rahilly, *Early Irish History and Mythology*, p. 204.

list of townlands in 1709 groups two divisions — “Rahardrum and Rolla”. The now obsolete Rolla (*Ruadhlach*, reddish or sandy land), not shown on the seventeenth century maps, may be the element forming Lissurely.

### MACHAIRE DÚN

The district of Magheradoon — *Machaire Dún* or *Dúin*, the plain of the Dun — now abbreviated to Maghera, extends along the north-east of Loch Ramor. In mediaeval times it was church land belonging to the Augustinian Abbey of St Mary's of Kells. There are many references to it in sixteenth and seventeenth century records. The Down Survey map, 1654, shows *Maheridowne* — an elongated division bounded on the north-west by *Balleine* (Ballaghanea) and on the south-east by *Galland mac gerrod* (Gallon, eliminated by the Ordnance Survey which includes it in Edenburt). The Down Survey treats Maheridowne as a unit and does not specify its component divisions; these may be ascertained from an earlier map compiled in 1609.

The Down Survey map to which frequent reference is made in these pages is an invaluable source for elucidating seventeenth century topography and a brief account of it may be in place here. It was compiled in 1654-55 by Sir William Petty who had been commissioned to prepare a map of the forfeited lands set apart for the soldiers of the Commonwealth. The Survey was so called because the several denominations and measurements were marked “down” on the spot by the surveyors. The results making due allowance for occasional lack of precision in noting boundary lines — for the surveyors were strangers in uncharted terrain — provide a very comprehensive picture of the geography of the country at the time.

The subsequent history of the survey is of some interest. A set of the original maps in manuscript, 214 in all, was sent in 1707 from Dublin to London, but never reached there. The vessel in which they were being conveyed was captured in the Channel by a French privateer and eventually they reached Paris where they are now deposited in la Bibliothèque Nationale. An Atlas, *Hiberniae Delineatio*, engraved by Petty about 1672 and published about 1683, is the prototype of all Irish maps until the nineteenth century. Besides the map of Ireland there are maps of the provinces and counties, and the boundaries of the baronies are shown. The section entitled *Political Anatomy* gives a very clear description of the country at the time, replete with estimates of population for Petty was an astute observer and statistician. Although compiled two centuries earlier than the development of the science of anthropo-geography Petty's

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work has much of the features which characterize modern geographical research.

By permission of the French Government the Down Survey maps were reproduced in 1908 by the Ordnance Survey. For a very comprehensive study of the structure of the Down Survey we are indebted to a modern French savant, Dr Goblet.<sup>27</sup>

An earlier townland map of Co. Cavan, the baronial map of 1609 compiled in connection with the Plantation of James I, shows the divisions in greater detail than does the Down Survey; but its orientation is defective and the name forms are more archaic. For the identifications of denominations now obsolete it is often the only surviving source of reference; otherwise it would be difficult to locate many of the places mentioned in the Plantation grants. By the process of superimposition of the early maps on the Ordnance Survey it is possible to interpret more exactly the phases of geographical development since the early seventeenth century.

The early maps have many variations in the orthography of place names, for it was attempted, with more or less success, to bring the names into conformity with English phonetics. Nevertheless, these sixteenth and seventeenth century forms, bizarre though they may appear in their carefree and picturesque spellings, have the undoubted advantage of preserving the early pronunciations not always adhered to in the rigid uniformity of the Ordnance Survey.

Referring back to the *Maheridowne* of the Down Survey — there is an earlier reference in the Elizabethan *Fiants*, 1586, where it is *Magherredowne* and farmed in that year by Owen McBrian O'Reilly. Other early forms are *Maghlendone* — Inquiry of 1542 — and *Magherendone* in a lease of 1608. The manuscript Books of Survey and Distribution show that in 1641 the division of *Magherendowne* was returned as containing 556 acres arable, 132 acres of bog, and 126 acres of "shaking bog" shown on the Down Survey as extending along a section of the River Blackwater as far as the townland of Edenburt.

The 1609 map shows the component denominations, seven in all, indicated in each case by a small circle with a double cross — the symbol of ecclesiastical lands. They are : *Pollintemple* (Pollintemple), *Dromhil* (Drumheel), *Carigkilty* (Carra-keelty), *Tramata* (Stramatt), *Lisliegh* (Lislea), *Pollidown* and

27 *La Transformation de la Géographie Politique de l'Irlande au XVII<sup>e</sup> e Siecle dans les cartes et essais anthropogéographiques de Sir William Petty* (2 volumes) with its companion book : *Les Noms de Lieux Irlandais dans l'oeuvre géographique de Sir William Petty*. By Y. M. Goblet, D. és L. (3 volumes). Paris : Berger Levrault, 1930.

*Aghnacloge*; the two last are now obsolete and are represented by the present Lisduff with a section of Bruse. Murrine (Burren) is not marked as church lands and appears to have formed part of the O'Reilly estate of Ballaghanea. The 1609 map shows the river, unnamed, separating Murrine from Bellagane (Ballaghanea). The Down Survey indicates a large area of bog and marshy lands in the district.

Neither the 1609 map nor the Ordnance Survey shows Magheradoon as a distinct townland. The explanation is this : it belonged to a type of mediaeval division intermediary between the parish and the townland, and did not fit into the townland classification. Munterconnacht is another example of a mediaeval division. The barony arrangement, in Petty's time and later as important as the county, appears also to be losing its geographical identity.

The most probable location of the *dún* which gave its title to Machaire Dun, or Duin, may be inferred from the 1609 map which marks the division Pollidoun (*supra*) — *Poll an dún*, or *dúin*, the division of the dun — bordering on "Lough Rawre" at the south-east extremity and extending along the Blackwater to Lisreherty — an obsolete division mentioned in Plantation grants and long since merged with Edenburt. To the east of Pollidoun is marked Aghnacloge (*supra*) — *Achadh na gCloch*, the stony or rocky field — now obsolete, bordered by Nenagh (Enagh) on the east. The 1709 list groups "Stramat and Aghneglogh" as a composite denomination and has Doon as a distinct division. Aghnacloge comprised the Ordnance Survey Lisduff which is not on the early maps.

In Lisduff is a large lios or rath with a massive earthen and stone circumvallation, evidently constructed for defensive purposes; its location would suggest that it was the original dun. Lisduff first appears as a distinct unit in the 1709 townland list; evidently it comprised a smaller area than now and was later extended to include the two adjoining divisions now obsolete.

The townland boundaries shown on the seventeenth century maps are mere approximations. The compilers of the Ordnance Survey in the early part of the last century formed many of the modern townlands by a process of amalgamation — grouping together two or more of the traditional divisions and establishing the newer boundaries, sometimes in an arbitrary fashion. Sometimes the boundaries were made to coincide with those of estates or with road lines. The multiplicity of small divisions, shown on the early maps, made amalgamations inevitable; for instance, the present townland of Edenburt, along the Blackwater, is the union of no fewer than eight smaller

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divisions, still locally remembered. The craze for "straight meanings" on some Co. Cavan estates in the early part of the last century resulted in further revisions in boundaries.

Some Down Survey denominations, not on the Ordnance Survey and regarded as obsolete, are still in local use and occur in parish registers. Part of the work of a Townland Survey, such as is in progress in Co. Louth, would be to collect these and map them.

The word *townland* although now established by the Ordnance Survey is itself a misnomer. It has been accepted as the equivalent of *baile*, which it is not. In early Irish texts *baile* means place. As an element in the formation of place names there is scarcely any evidence of its use earlier than the middle of the twelfth century.<sup>28</sup> After the coming of the Anglo-Normans (although the word is not Norman) place names in *baile* (as "Bally") are more frequent. In Anglo-Norman Meath it enters as the element "town". The *baile* element is less frequent in Co. Cavan and considerably lower than the national average of ten per cent; it forms only one per cent of place names, which is the same for Co. Fermanagh and Co. Monaghan. No simple explanation is possible but it may be accounted for by the shifting of population groups in mediaeval times.

The 1609 map shows the denomination *Tramat*, now *Stramatt*,<sup>29</sup> extending along Loch Ramor from Pollintample on the west to Pollidoun on the east and including a section of the present Carrakeeltymore; it obviously represents *Srath Maighe*, the river meadow of the plain. The form of the name is unusual; the pronunciation of the final *t* to represent aspirate *g* does not appear to have a parallel elsewhere. O'Donovan in the Ordnance Survey Name Books, 1836, interprets it as *Srath Mata*, Matthew's *srath* or river holm, which has no local warrant and is mere conjecture. The Name Books, if ever prepared for publication, would require a drastic revision and re-editing. The early maps were not available to O'Donovan and he had to rely on very limited data, or on imperfect local tradition.

The Down Survey has a division "Quillymony and Lurgineurein" corresponding with the Ordnance Survey Carrigabrusse, Drumheel, Carrakeeltymbeg and Kilnagun. It is indicated as glebe or church land. The Books of Survey, 1668, enter it as "Quillymony and Lurginerin", comprising 187 acres of glebe land in the possession of the Protestant rector of Lurgan. A slightly disguised form "Lurgan Clanbogan" is shown on the 1609 map. The 1610 grants group together two divisions, "Carrigneveagh

28 V. *Celtica*, VII, 119.

29 The present Catholic church of Maghera is in this division.

and Coolemonie", both now obsolete. The 1609 map shows "Carignaviegh" adjoining "Nacarigi bruse", now Carrigabrusse; its position on the map corresponds with the hill of Bruse which is not marked as such; physical features, with the exception of rivers, are rarely shown. Carignaviegh represents *Carraig na bhfiach*, the ravens' rock, a commonly occurring place name.

"Quillimony" also obsolete is the "Culemony" of the 1709 townland list and represents *Coill an mhuine*, the wood of the shrubbery; it corresponds with the Ordnance Survey Kilnagun — *Coill na gcon*. The obsolete "Lurginerin", also mentioned in the Commonwealth grants, seems to be *Leargain an iubhair*, the ridge of the yews; the configuration of the district would suggest that it is the low ridge extending from Carrigabrusse westward through Drumheel and Burrencarragh.

Carrigabrusse was retained as glebe land until the last century. In a list of the ecclesiastical lands in the barony of Castlelahan, compiled in 1608, it is entered as "Ballybruse" containing 13 polls.<sup>30</sup> Here a poll was reckoned as equivalent to 24 acres, approximating very closely to the accepted Breifne estimate of 25 acres. The Deposition of George Creighton, rector of Lurgan, dated 1643, refers to the glebe lands of "Ballibruse". The origin of these church lands may be traced back to a few centuries earlier when Machaire Dun was part of the estate of the Augustinian Abbey of Kells.

Brief reference may be made to a few other denominations, some now obsolete, to the north-west of Loch Ramor. Extending along the north shore the 1609 map shows "Raghardine" — Rahardrum; the Down Survey has "Rihardrum". The same map shows "Aghaler" in which the town of Virginia was founded a few years later; it is not shown on the Down Survey which has "Virginia and Clanmore"; the latter, *Cluain Mór*, now obsolete is included in the Ordnance Survey Deerpark. "Dinancry" — Dunancory; "Deunancare", Down Survey. Adjoining this the 1609 map shows a large division "Nahertune", now obsolete, included in Deerpark. There are other early references to it: "Party", *Fiants* of 1586; "Naperton", 1610 grants; "Partann", Down Survey; "Partue", 1664 Hearth Tax Rolls; "Parta", Deposition of 1643 and the same form occurs in the 1709 townland list. The name is *port* or *purt*, a very old Gaelic word meaning an embankment or a landing place; it usually has the latter meaning when bordering a lake or the sea.

In the sixteenth century this denomination was thickly populated. The *Fiants* of 1586 enumerate the names of twenty-one property owners in "Party", and of those twenty were

30 MS. Rawlinson, *Analecta Hibernica*, III, 209.

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O'Reillys. During the second half of the eighteenth century the area was cleared to provide space for woodlands. The woods are shown on Taylor and Skinner's map, 1777. That the older name still survived in the early eighteenth century appears from its inclusion in the 1709 list. Some traces of early landing places or boat shelters survive.

"Dromeny" — Drummoney; "Drumman", Down Survey; "Dromuny", 1664 Hearth Tax Rolls; Drumuny, 1709 list. It is derived from *Dromanna*, elongated ridges or hills, describing its configuration.

"Polinaheny" — Enagh; "Polleneheny", 1610 grants; "Enagh", Down Survey. It is *Eanach*, a marshy place. The 1609 map shows two divisions, "Dromhil" and "Corouadigue" bordering Loch Ramor. The Down Survey groups them "Drumsheele and Cornodiduff"; they are now represented by Cormaddyduff. The 1709 list has "Drumsheel", now obsolete. The early maps show a large area of bogland in these divisions. The 1609 map does not include the parish of Munterconnacht which as may be inferred from some of the Jacobean grants was regarded as somewhat excentric from Co. Cavan and regarded as in Meath. But it is included in the Down Survey — Castlerahan barony.

#### DION ANCOIRE

The 1609 map would indicate that "Dinancry", Dunancory, included a section of the present Deerpark and extended to the lake shore. With the extention of the woodlands in the eighteenth century there seems to have been a revision of boundaries. The form "Dinancry" suggests that it is *Dion Ancoire*, the residence or shelter of the anchorite or hermit. There are now no traces of a *dún* or fortified earthwork in the immediate vicinity, if we except a rath or lios in Deerpark at its highest point, nor is any shown on the Ordnance Survey. Some early forms of the name are "Donankery", *Fiants* of 1593 and 1602; "Doonancry", 1610 grants; "Deunancare", Down Survey; "Dunancry", 1664 Hearth Tax Rolls; "Dunankerry", 1709 list. The elements forming the name rarely occur, at least in the northern section of the country. In the parish of Lismore, Co. Waterford, is a Ballyanchor — *Baile an Ancoire* — where lived anchorites belonging to the ecclesiastical establishment of Lismore,<sup>31</sup> mentioned in the Four Masters, 778 and 854.

The name suggests that here on the shore of Loch Ramor there was a religious foundation, most probably of minor importance, in early Christian times. Anchorites' cells, subject to monastic jurisdiction, were usually attached to the early monas-

<sup>31</sup> Power, *The Place Names of Decies*, Second Edition, 1952, p. 34.

teries. The Annals have many references to them and there is one from Breifne as late as the fifteenth century. The Four Masters, 1484, chronicle the death of Brian O Farrelly, a priest of Drumlane, "who had commenced building an anchorite's cell (*Cloch Angcoire*) in the great church of Drumlane". There is a corresponding entry in the Annals of Ulster. Several examples of anchorites' cells survive in England.

There is no record of such a cell in the district of Loch Ramor, and it must have belonged to an early period. It may have belonged to the Columban Abbey of Kells or to the later Augustinian Abbey. But there is a possibility that it may have been attached to the Benedictine Abbey of Fore of which, as will be shown later, many of the Breifne parish churches were dependencies. Some of the churches in the Oldcastle district also belonged to Fore.

Little is known of the precise functions of those cells, or the rules observed, but they seem to have served as retreat houses. References to anchorites are frequent in the Annals but, as Rev. Prof. Ryan observes, of the eighty prominent ecclesiastics whose deaths are recorded in the Annals of Ulster within the century A.D. 600 - 700 only two are stated to have been anchorites.<sup>32</sup>

The existence of a St Patrick's Well in the present Deerpark, close to Dunancory, provides some evidence of an early ecclesiastical foundation in the locality; it is marked *Toberpatrick* on the Ordnance Survey. O'Donovan, Ordnance Survey Name Books, 1836, notes from local tradition that it was "formerly celebrated as a holy well". A small stream from it flows into the river below. Its existence is now largely forgotten. When the demesne was enclosed at the end of the eighteenth century and became private property access to it was prohibited. No traces of early buildings are recognizable and the thick growth of timber makes exploration difficult.

#### BRU CLOCHAIR AND OTHER PLACE NAMES

As already explained, names of lakes, rivers and hills rank among our oldest place names, and as links with the prehistoric period afford glimpses down the corridors of time far beyond the vista of history. Some hill names in the Loch Ramor region belong to its pre-history.

According to that great repository of pagan myth and legend, the *Dindsenchas*, the district around Sliabh na Caillighe — the Loughcrew hills in north Co. Meath — was known in very early times as Coill Cuan, the wood of Cuan. Its boun-

32 Ryan, *Irish Monasticism*, p. 220.

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daries are defined in the *Dindsenchas* poem, compiled and redacted from earlier sources by O Lothchain an eleventh century scribe. Apart from whatever historical values it may possess — for it is an amalgam of fact, fable and fiction — it has a certain topographical value by reason of the several early place names mentioned.<sup>33</sup> Versions of the poem are included in the Book of Leinster, the Book of Ballymote and the Book of Lecan; some variations occur in place name forms but otherwise the various texts are in substantial agreement.<sup>34</sup>

The north-east boundary of Coill Cuan would have passed along the Loch Ramor region, and some of the places mentioned might be sought for here. According to the Book of Leinster version one of the boundaries was the *Seile* which as we know from other sources was a very early name for the River Blackwater.<sup>35</sup> Another boundary point was *Drom Dergga*, or *Druim Dearg*, which may be identified with Drumderg, an elevated ridge north-west of Loch Ramor; this hilly district, rising to a height of 833 feet above sea level, extends over a few townlands. When viewed from the summit of Sliabh na Caillighe this ridge is a prominent feature of the landscape. The 1609 map has "Dromadirig"; it is the "Dromderrig" of the Down Survey.

Following the text of the poem we have a place named *Clochar* on the eastern boundary of Coill Cuan, and adjacent to it was a ford, *Ath Find*, on the Seile. The Book of Leinster version has *Bru Clochair* while both the Book of Ballymote and the Book of Lecan have *Cuil Clochair*. It is clear that *Bru Clochair* and *Cuil Clochair* are variants of the same name. An analysis of the text of the poem, from the various sources, leads to the conclusion that it is based on earlier works representing the labours of several scribes.

From the configuration of the district it may be accepted that the hill of Bruse, rising to the east of Loch Ramor, is the *Bru Clochair* of the Book of Leinster version and substantially retains the ancient name. It was the most prominent landmark

33 E. Gwynn, *Poems from the Dindsenchas*, Todd Lecture Series, Vol. VII, Dublin, 1900; *The Metrical Dindsenchas*, Todd Lecture Series, Vol. VIII, IX and X, Dublin, 1903-13.

34 The Book of Leinster was compiled between the years 1151 and 1224. The Codex, edited by Best and O'Brien (Vol. IV, 1965), has been published by the Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies. The Book of Ballymote was compiled by the pupils of Domnal Mc Egan about the year 1400 or a little later. The Great Book of Lecan was compiled by Giolla Iosa Mor Mac Firbhisigh and some collaborators in the period 1416-1418.

35 *Onomasticon Goedelicum*, s.v. "Caill Cuan"; also s.v. "Sele".

on the north-east boundary of Coill Cuan which, from the several places mentioned in the text, comprised an area roughly circular in shape and about twelve miles in diameter with Sliabh na Caillighe as its central point. A quality of the names of physical features is their persistency, and the Cuil Clochair of the text appears to survive in the townland name Cloghergoole to the north of Bruse.

*Bru Clochair*, the hill of the rocky or stony district, was an apt designation as the elements *Carriga* and *Cloch* enter into many of the adjoining townland names, as well as some now obsolete. The alternative *Cuil Clochair* has a similar origin; *Cuil* (cognate with the Latin *collis*) was also applied to a hill and *Bru* and *Cuil* may be taken as synonymous. These forms are of frequent occurrence. The form *Bru*, meaning a hill or a mound, natural or artificial, is found in very early Irish records. A well-known example is *Bru na Boinne*, now better known as Newgrange, the great Bronze Age tumulus on the right bank of the Boyne. There is a Bruse Hill near Arva which may have the same meaning although local tradition would ascribe it to the itinerary of Edward Bruce, whose campaign terminated at Faughart in 1318.

In much later times *Bru* came to have a variety of meanings — corner, mansion, farmhouse, etc. — but in the *Dindsenchas* poem it has a more restricted connotation.

Reference has already been made to the place names of the district formed by the element *Carraig*, some now obsolete. Adjoining "Nacarigi bruse", the present Carrigabruise, the 1609 map has a division "Culnagralchy" — *Cul na greallaghe*, the hill of the marshy place — now obsolete. Its position on the map corresponds with that of the hill, and it preserves the *Cul* element. The Down Survey shows the region flanked by great stretches of bog and moorlands which modern drainage has greatly reduced in extent.

The hill of Bruse<sup>36</sup> — the phrase is a pleonasm — rising to a height of 654 feet surrounded as it is by a great plain dominates the landscape for many miles around. Viewed from the summit of Sliabh na Caillighe both Drumderg and Bruse are very prominent physical features on the horizon, and many centuries ago above the wooded plain of Coill Cuan must have impressed the nameless topographers whose observations are preserved in the *Dindsenchas*.

Also mentioned in the poem is the *Monai Mor*, or great bog.

36 The summit has no traces of earthworks; the rocky surface resulting from glacial denudation made such structures impracticable.

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This is "The Great Bogg" of the Down Survey, extending from the Co. Meath border to the district of Murmod. The south-east section, including portions of the Ordnance Survey townlands of Fartagh, Killacunny, Leitrim, Rantavan, Cloghbally, and a few others, and extending into Co. Meath, covers about 1800 acres; it is clearly visible from the summit of Sliabh na Cailighe. The 1609 map marks this section "monuorogata" — *móinfhéar na gcat* — the bog of the wild-cats. The name is obsolete but is partly preserved in the adjoining townland Feegat — *Fiodh na gcat* — in Co. Meath. The trunks of giant oaks, frequently unearthed, are remnants of the great forest of prehistoric times.

Also mentioned in the poem is *Ath Finn* with a variant *Athbeim*, the white ford, in the vicinity of Bru Clochair. The name is obsolete but it was somewhere on the Blackwater — the Seile of the *Vita Tripartita*. The Book of Leinster version has *In Athbeim for Bru Clochair*; variants are *Ath Inn* and *Ath Find*. In other early sources, e.g., the Book of Leinster, the Blackwater is known by another name *Finnabhainn*, the white river," and *Ath Finn* may mean the ford on the white river.

At the southern extremity of Loch Ramor, where the Blackwater begins its course, was a ford now spanned by a bridge; across the marshy lowlands, and passing close by a prominent drumlin, a causeway led to it, and the modern roadway retains the early designation *Tochar*. This ford occupying a strategic position must have been an important crossing-place in early times. The *Dun* already referred to was on the hill-side above it. A few miles down the river, where Daly's Bridge is now, was another ford. Midway between these was a ford leading from the present Edenburt into Co. Meath. Any of these may have been the "white ford". The remains of at least two Bronze Age tumuli are on the Co. Meath side of the river.

To the north of Loch Ramor is another prominent elevation, the hill of Murmod, 666 feet. There is no reference to it in any of the great Codices already mentioned. In a poem which is a lament for Brian son of Feidhlimidh O'Reilly (ob. 1447), who died in 1481 occurs the line :

*Do chreach Mormoid mur an Magh*<sup>37</sup>

and evidently composed shortly after Brian's death. All early forms of the name are practically the same : "Mormade", *Fiants* of 1584; "Murmod", *Fiants* of 1592; "Murmode", Pynnar's

37 *Onomasticon Goedelicum*, s.v. "Finn".

38 Carney, *Poems on the O'Reillys*, p. 178. *Creach* means to despoil; *magh* has not been identified but seems to refer to the surrounding plain.

Survey, 1618; "Mormud", Hearth Tax Rolls, 1664. The Down Survey groups two sections, "Mormedetragh and Mormedotragh", and the 1709 townland list has also two divisions — "Mormodd Itragh" and "Mormodd Otragh", i.e., the lower (*iochdar*) and upper (*uachdar*). The townland is not named on the 1609 map where it is represented by two divisions — "Nicaraue" and "Nacoleheil"; the latter is the northern section shown as adjoining "Nabarny", Burnew, and the former is the southern bounded by "Dollow", another obsolete division now included in Rahardrum. In the 1610 grant to Roger Garth "Murmode" appears as a district or estate title, with 150 acres in demesne; the two divisions of the 1609 map, "Nacarran" and "Nachollchill", are included in the grant to Garth.

The Books of Survey and Distribution show that in 1668 the estate named "Both the Murmodes and Aghanmadronke" was in the possession of John Ashe, "Irish Protestant"; the latter denomination is the small Ordnance Survey townland of Aghnadrunng — *Achadh an drong*, the field of the assembly or meeting place; "Aghondrong", *Fiants* of 1592; "Aghnadrong", 1609 map; this division, which is not marked on the Down Survey, together with the Ordnance Survey divisions of Mullaghmore and Lisnabantry — "Lisnabantromy", 1609 map — are included by Petty in the larger denomination of the Murmod demesne.

The derivation of the name Murmod is obscure; it may be of tribal or mythological origin. The suggestion in the Ordnance Survey Name Books, 1836, that it is *Marmaid*, wormwood, is a flight of fancy or perhaps *volksetymologie*; the equation of a Celtic, or perhaps pre-Celtic, name with a dictionary term can lead only to misleading conclusions.

#### MONASTIC LANDS OF MACHAIRE DUN

As already shown, some seven denominations comprising the district of Machaire Dun belonged in mediaeval times to the richly endowed Augustinian Abbey of St Mary's at Kells; this was an Anglo-Norman foundation of which, *inter alia*, the parish churches of Lurgan, Munterconnacht and Castlerahan were dependencies. To understand the abbatial inter-relations in early times it must be explained that there were two Abbeys in Kells, the Columban (St. Colmcille's) and the Augustinian (St Mary's) — but they were distinct foundations and belonged to different periods. As I have shown elsewhere, the Columban, which was pre-Norman, was inside the town walls and the Aug-

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ustinian, of Norman times, was outside the walls and at a point on the west side of the town."

The Columban Abbey, probably dating from the time of St Colmcille in the sixth century, was an important foundation; the names of some of its Abbots are entered in the Annals. Kells is not mentioned in the Acts of the Synod of Rathbreasail held in the year 1111 which shows that, contrary to the popular belief, it had not diocesan status although from time to time bishops were attached to it. A diocese of Kells was established at the Synod of Kells in 1152 but was merged in the diocese of Meath after the death of Bishop Ua Dobhailen in 1211. To speak of a diocese of Kells as existing prior to 1152, when the Columban Abbey as such lost its status, would be an anachronism since the Irish diocesan system only came into existence at the Synod of Rathbreasail. It would be more correctly defined as an area of abbatial jurisdiction.

We cannot now determine the limits of the district over which the Columban abbots ruled earlier than 1152 for no records survive, nor have we any information of the extent of the episcopal jurisdiction of the short-lived diocese of Kells; most probably there were no clearly defined diocesan boundaries. But we know that during those times the several branches of the Luigni and Gailenga inhabited the regions of the present east and south Co. Cavan and north Co. Meath. References in the Annals show that before the coming of the Anglo-Normans in 1172 they were centred at Kells. The Four Masters, 1030, record the death of Fland Ua Flaind, Lord of Gailenga, in the monastery of Kells. It may be accepted that the small monastic foundation on the island in Loch Ramor, serving the district of Machaire Dun within Gailenga territory, was within the limits of the jurisdiction of the Columban Abbey and in the course of events came under the rule of the new diocese of Kells. It was a question of serving population groups rather than of following geographical definitions at a time when such were as yet only loosely defined.

With the coming of the Anglo-Normans there was heralded an era of sweeping territorial and ecclesiastical expansion. In 1172 Meath was granted to Hugh de Lacy, one of the conquistadores of Henry II in Ireland, who assumed power over and acquired by force where necessary, large border areas in the present counties of Louth and Cavan. In 1176 he commenced the erection of a castle at Kells and the Annals of Loch Cé describe him as "King of Midhe and Breifne and Airghiall". Some of the moats or fortifications erected during his time in the Breifne

area will be described later. He was killed at Durrow in 1186 and was succeeded by his son Walter (ob. 1241) during whose lifetime the Anglo-Norman power was expanded and consolidated.

The first Anglo-Norman bishop of Meath was Simon Rochfort who ruled from 1192 to 1224, and during his time there was a further expansion of Anglo-Norman supremacy with the acquisition of church lands. Bishop Rochfort bestrode the ecclesiastical domain of the Leinster region like a colossus; transferred his cathedral church from Clonard to Newtown, beside Trim, and between the years 1212-16 suppressed the purely Irish diocese of Kells and established the diocese of Meath; he created Kells one of his five rural deaneries. The acquisition of church lands in Breifne, including Machaire Dun, may be ascribed to him.

The Augustinian Abbey of St Mary's was founded between the years 1172-1192 and richly endowed by the de Lacys. No traces of the buildings survive but the "Abbey Field" on the west side of the town marks the site. The Abbey with its possessions was confiscated in 1539. Its property included the lands of "Maghelendon, now in Co. Cavan".<sup>40</sup>

In 1540 a royal commission was appointed to take a survey of monastic property and its report, dated the same year from Ardraccan, Co. Meath, has further particulars of the lands of "Maghlendone":

In this vill [villa] in the Brenny [Breifne] in "Glasseny's country" (is) a parcel of land containing 60 acres (valued at) 106 shillings and eight pence.<sup>41</sup>

An Inquiry of 1542 regarding the "King's Revenues in Ireland" reported that

four messuages, sixty acres of arable land, four of meadow, two of wood and fourteen of pasture with their appurtenances in Maghlendone belong to the Abbey at Kells.<sup>42</sup>

The lands of "Maghlendone" were then granted to Gerald Fleming of Cabra, in the parish of Enniskillen, and the lease was renewed by Queen Elizabeth in 1587 subject to the condition that

he shall not alien, without licence under the great seal, to

40 *Patent Rolls*, 31 Henry VIII.

41 Newport B. White, *Extents of Irish Monastic Possessions*, 1540-41, p. 263. "Glasseny's country" is an alias for "O'Reilly's country"; Glaisne was a popular Christian name in some of the O'Reilly families.

42 *Calendar of State Papers, Ireland*, 34 Henry VIII. A messuage, of Norman origin, was a farmhouse or dwelling house with outbuildings attached.

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any except they be of the English nation both by father and mother or born in the English Pale.<sup>43</sup>

The lease expired in 1608 and in the same year James I accepted from Gerald Fleming sundry parcels of land including "the houses and lands of Magherendone in Co. Cavan parcel of the Abbey of Kells", in order to make him a regrant of same.<sup>44</sup>

A survey of the church lands in Co. Cavan made in 1608 includes "the eight polls of land called Magheryndowne", then in possession of Gerald Fleming.<sup>45</sup> An Inquisition taken at Cavan in 1609 reported that "the 8 polls of the lands of Magherondone in the parish of Lurgan belonged to the late Abbey of Kells".<sup>46</sup> Gerald Fleming died in 1615 and his son Thomas succeeded to the property.

Another entry in the grant of James I to Gerald Fleming describes the property in greater detail : it comprised twelve messuages, one hundred and forty acres of arable land, forty of pasture and forty of moorlands. This would amount to 220 acres and allowing for 25 acres to one poll — the usual Breifne estimate — would correspond very closely with the eight polls of the surveys of 1608 and 1609. In the later Commonwealth surveys the profitable and unprofitable lands were reckoned separately. Assuming that the figure of twelve messuages, that is farmhouses, is correct the district must have been sparsely populated in the early seventeenth century.

The list of successive Abbots of St Mary's of Kells contains a number of Breifne names which is all the more remarkable by reason of the fact that it was an Anglo-Norman foundation, within the Pale, and that in both the ecclesiastical and governmental spheres there were in general sharp distinctions between the Irish and the Anglo-Normans. It appears an exception to the racial divisions of the time. At the same period the parish church of St Colmcille, inside the walls, was ruled by the Archdeacons of Meath, practically all bearing Anglo-Norman names. Perhaps the fact that the Abbots of St Mary's drew a large revenue from the diocese of Kilmore would be an explanation.

There was a close association between St Mary's and the diocese of Kilmore. Abbot Maurice was bishop of Kilmore from 1286 until his death in 1307. Abbot John O'Reilly ruled over Kilmore from 1465 to 1476 and Abbot Dermot O'Reilly from 1511 to 1529. Even after the suppression in 1539 the succes-

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43 *Fiantis* XXIX Eliz.

44 *Patent Rolls*, 6 James I.

45 MS. Rawlinson A. 237, Bodleian Library, Oxford; *Analecta Hibernica*, III, p. 210.

46 *Patent Rolls*, 7 James I.

sion was maintained by titular Abbots. An entry in the Rinucini papers, dated 1660, refers to Archdeacon Thomas Brady of Kilmore as *Abbas Monasterii B.M. de Kells*.

Some of the parish churches of Kilmore were dependencies of St Mary's; these included Lurgan, Munterconnacht, Castle-  
rahan, Moybolge, Knockbride, Killinagh, Kinawley, Killann and Templeport, also Enniskeen in Meath diocese. To the Benedictine Abbey of Fore, another de Lacy foundation, belonged Urney, Annaghgeliffe, Mullagh, Killinkere, Denn, Drung, Kil-  
drumsherdan, Lavey, Laragh and Kilmore.

Whatever may have been the determining factors in the scheme of distribution between Kells and Fore it is now impossible to ascertain; but it followed no geographical plan. It certainly belongs to the early thirteenth century, coinciding with the reforms perfected by bishop Rochfort of Meath in accordance with the Anglo-Norman schemes. Fore secured the major share of ecclesiastical endowments in the Anglo-Norman dominions in Breifne. This appears from the levies imposed on church lands in 1306. The returns show that the revenues derived from church lands in the diocese of Kilmore by the Priory of Fore (*Faure*) amounted to eleven marks; those belonging to the Abbey of Kells (*Kenles*) amounted to five marks.<sup>47</sup>

The townland of Pollintemple — *Poll an Teampaill*, the poll or division of the church — represents the extent of the monastic land in pre-Norman times; it may be accepted that this belonged to the Columban Abbey of Kells until 1152 and from that period until about 1216 to the Irish diocese of Kells. The other townlands comprising the estate of Machaire Dun belonging to St Mary's would have been later acquisitions following the Anglo-Norman expansion under de Lacy, and most probably augmented by some of the Breifne Abbots of St Mary's.

Preserving the early monastic tradition the island church continued in use during the successive changes in administration. The early maps have no indication of church buildings on the mainland. The church was monastic without parochial status, and served the inhabitants of the estate. It is most probable that there was a cemetery on the island. The continuity of the ecclesiastical tradition was preserved when the older chapel of Maghera was erected in Pollintemple in the early eighteenth century. The district of Maghera was then on the estate of the Catholic Earls of Fingall.

Bordering the district of Machaire Dun on the south-east and extending into Co. Meath was another ecclesiastical estate,

47 Sweetman, *Calendar of Documents relating to Ireland*, Vol. V, p. 213.

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also of Anglo-Norman origin. It comprised, in part, the older district of *Ath na Dairbhrighe* — V. Four Masters, 1160 and 1161 — and belonged to the Kells Priory of the Knights Hospitallers of St John of Jerusalem. It survives in the townland name Dervor on the Co. Meath side of the county boundary. The early church site is in Co. Cavan, in Lurgan parish, and separated from Dervor by a small stream. An account of this foundation will be given in a later paper.

### THE ISLAND CHURCH SITE

The 1609 map shows the island church as a rectangular building, unroofed, with pointed gables. The Down Survey omits the island. As the most probable site of the monastic settlement of Patrician times, and later the ninth century stronghold of the Norse-Gailenga marauders, the church, a fourteenth or fifteenth century structure, represents what may be termed the third phase in the island's history. Towards the close of the seventeenth century, between the years 1690 and 1700, it was uprooted by a Colonel Woodward who used the materials to erect a mansion on the site; a contemporary writer describes it as "a good dwelling house", with large gardens well laid out. The Woodwards resided at Drumbaragh, a few miles to the west of Kells, where they had been granted an estate confiscated from the Plunketts under the Commonwealth regime. They were attainted by King James's Parliament in 1689, and may have considered it more judicious to seek an island retreat during the turbulent 1690s. Colonel Woodward, *inter alios*, met with a violent death on the island in May 1726 when in the course of a hectic royal birthday celebration an overloaded cannon exploded,<sup>48</sup> abruptly terminating the fourth recorded phase in its history. Taylor and Skinner's map, 1777, shows the island with the "Castle Ruins". The site is now much overgrown with trees and brushwood, with the debris of the castle strewn around. Some outlines of the gardens may be traced. An archaeological exploration, if ever undertaken, would most likely reveal some links with its early ecclesiastical history.

### THE LEGAL CONTEST OF 1826

The last phase in the island's varied and eventful history was a famous legal action — the climax to a protracted and acrimonious dispute concerning its ownership — heard at the Cavan Summer Assizes of 1826 before Judge Jebb with a jury. The matter at issue was this : Loch Ramor with its islands was the

<sup>48</sup> *Breifne*, Vol. II, No. 6, p. 260.

property of the Taylours of Headfort, Earls of Bective, while the estate comprising the mainland contiguous to the island, that is, the lands of Machaire Dun, was held on lease by the Sankeys of Fort Frederick. Claiming that the island had always been regarded as part of the lands of Pollintemple, Mrs Barbara Sankey, widow of Colonel Henry Sankey of the Dublin militia, had assumed exclusive ownership and this precipitated what the newspapers of the time referred to as "the long pending and expensive suit about literally two perches of ground".

The Earl of Bective as plaintiff sought "to assert his claim to the rights and royalties of a large lake, containing upwards of forty islands and covering 2000 acres of water". As the case developed the issues became inextricably involved and much legal ingenuity was exercised in striving to unravel them; but with little success for the complexities only tended to increase.

Four of the leading legal luminaries of the day were brought from Dublin: Pennefeather and Holmes for the plaintiff and Johnson and Rolleston for the defendant. The trial, described in the press of the time as "a fierce contest", continued for several days and, according to the report of the proceedings, the Judge having declared himself weary of its intricacies "listened with the most exemplary patience" to what he termed "this lamentable contest". There were some lively interludes as tempers became frayed, and at one point the Judge called for an adjournment to allow the parties to consider the possibility of reaching an amicable settlement and offering to act as mediator. A conference was held but with negative results and the trial was resumed. Finally, after lengthy consideration the jury returned a verdict in favour of the Earl of Bective.

It was a Pyrrhic victory for the legal costs were enormous and the island — "this little speck of insulation", as a contemporary writer describes it — brought both parties to the verge of financial disaster. A visitor of 1832 has left it on record that he had heard it locally referred to, facetiously, as "the dear island".

The case received wide publicity at the time and the decision had important implications as it established a precedent in the pages of legal history. The report replete with the legal verbiage of the period may be read at length in the columns of the Dublin weekly newspapers, and in some of the provincial, for July 1826.<sup>49</sup> The verdict was decisive, but for long afterwards the Sankeys claimed *de jure* ownership of the island.

<sup>49</sup> There is a report in *The Clonmel Advertiser*, issue of 22 July, 1826.



## FIFTY YEARS AGO

The Very Rev. Nicholas Comey, P.P., Ballyhaise has supplied the following list of the students who entered St Patrick's College, Cavan, along with him, just fifty years ago on 17 August 1917, and he has added some biographical details as well as the names of the professors on the staff at that time. Those marked with an asterisk are dead. We are sure that it will be of interest to many others of the same generation.

— *Editor.*

## PRIESTS :

- Terence F. Brady (Kilmore), P.P., Lavey.  
 \*Peter J. Gargan (Kilmore), P.P., Killinkere.  
 Nicholas J. Comey (Kilmore), P.P., Ballyhaise.  
 \*Charles A. Cartwright (Kilmore), P.P., Carrigallen.  
 \*Patrick Gillick (Kilmore), C.C., Kinlough.  
 \*Thomas Devaney (Kilmore), P.P., Killargue.  
 Patrick A. Sheridan (Glasgow).  
 Peter Travers (Glasgow).  
 \*Joseph Dolan (Bristol).  
 James Murtagh (Cardiff).  
 Bernard Collins (Los Angeles).  
 \*Michael E. Smith (Brooklyn).  
 Patrick Donohoe (St. Augustine, Florida).  
 \*Hugh Farrelly (Los Angeles).  
 Philip Fitzpatrick (San Francisco).  
 \*Michael Brady died as an ecclesiastical student.

## DOCTORS :

- \*Malachy O'Reilly, James F. McGovern, \*Michael McDwyer,  
 \*Francis Drumm, John V. McLoughlin, \*Brendan O'Carroll.

## SCHOOLTEACHERS :

- \*John Lynch, \*Bernard Gaffney.  
 Francis McGrath, chemist; Desmond Keaney, dentist; Philip Brady, engineer; Peter McDwyer, solicitor; Michael McTague, Garda; Andrew O'Rourke, civil service; P. D. Flynn; P. J. O'Reilly; James Smith; Laurence Seagrave; Leo Blessing; Hugh Plunkett; Philip McMahon; \*Joseph McConville.

## PROFESSORS :

Rev. P. V. Rudden, President; Rev. M. Kelly, Vice-President and Bursar; Rev. W. Buchanan; Rev. John Maguire; Rev. D. Fitzpatrick; Rev. John McKeon; Mr Thomas Fogarty; Mr Robert Nangle; Mr John Fitzpatrick.

# CANÚINT MHUINTIR CHIONNAITH AGUS CHLANN FHEARMAIGHE

LE STIOFÁN Ó CEILLEACHAIR

(arna chur in eagar ag an Athair Domhnall Mac an Ghallóglagh)

Tá foillsithe anseo agam an chéad leath de thráchtas a scríobh an tUas. Stiofán Ó Ceilleachair fá choinne chéim an M.A. ar "Chanúint Mhuintir Chionnaith agus Clann Fhearmaighe". Innismagrath agus Glenfarne a tugtar ar Mhuintir Chionnaith agus Clann Fhearmaighe inniú—dhá pharáiste atá suite ar bhruach Loch Ailleann i dtuaisceart Liathdroma. Ba as Muintir Chionnaith don Uas. Ó Ceilleachair féin, rud a d'fhág faoi bhuntáiste go mór é nuair a thug sé faoi iarsma na Gaeilge san gceannntar a bhailiú. Nuair a chuaigh sé chun oibre sa bhliain 1940 bhí breis is tríocha seanchaí fágtha beo san gceannntar agus seachtó bliain slánaithe ag achan duine aca. Ba bheag cleachtadh a bhí aca ar labhairt na Gaeilge le breis is seasca bliain anuas. Ní rabh fágtha acht an méid a chuala siad ó sheanbhunadh na h-áite agus iad ag fás suas.

B'é slí 'nar chuir sé chuig an obair dul go dtí an cheannntar agus an rann nó an t-amhrán a scríobhadh síos ó bhéal an tsean-duine. Nuair a bhí roinnt mhaith bailithe aige chuaigh sé thar nais arís agus thóg sé síos na nithe céanna ar roithleáin edifon. Ó na roithleáin seo cheartaigh sé an mhéid a bhí scríofa síos aige cheana agus rinne sé leagan fóghraíochta ar na fuaimeanna. Áit ar bith a rabh sé in amhras faoi fhocal ar leith nó fuaim áirithe thug sé athchuaire ar na cainteoirí. Le tuille feabhais a chur ar an saothar seo, chuaigh sé lasmuigh de'n chontae go dtí an Ghráinseach i gCo. Shligigh agus Cill Mobhí i gCo. Mhuigheo mar bhacphas dó gurbh fhusa canúint Liathdroma a mheas tréna chur i gcompráid le ceannntair eile i dtuaisceart Chonnachta a rabh an Ghaeilge beo fós ionnta.

Ar eagla go mbéadh an tráchtas iomlán ró-throm do ghnáth-léitheoir *Breifne*, tá beartaithe agam, le cead an eagarthóra, an chéad leath de a bhaineas le cúrsaí fóghraíochta a fhoillsiú anseo agus an tarna leath de a chur siar go dtí an chéad eagrán eile den iris. Seachas an athchoimre seo a dhéanamh ar an réamhrá agus an t-iomlán a athrú ar an chló Rómhánach, níl aon athrú eile deánta agam ar chorp an tráchtais\*. Ar ndóigh, ní féidir é a ghearradh gan díoltas a imirt ar fhoirfeacht an taighde agus éagóir a dhéanamh ar an údar. Dá bhrí sin, chuir mé síos é díreach mar a d'fhág sé peann an údair.

Is beag ceannntar go h-áirithe thaobh amuigh den Ghaeltacht a

\* Féach fo-nóta 1. Chomh maith le sin, chuir an Dr. Stockman "sic" isteach áit nár aontaigh sé leis an leagan a bhí thíos ag an údar.

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bhfuil a leithéid de thaighde canúna aige le maíodh as. Tá muid faoi chomaoín go mór ag an Uas. Ó Ceilleachair as ucht ar shabháil sé dúinn de Ghaeilge Liathdroma agus an dóigh 'nar dhein sé é a mheas dúinn mar chanúint. Is le h-áthas a fhoillsím anseo é mar chuimhniú air.

Tá mo bhuíochas a dhul don Uas. Brian Ó Mórdha, Árd-Mhaistir, an Scoil Choimsitheach, an Mhuinchille, a chabhraigh liom san eagarthóireacht.

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A.D.C.Ch.	Amhráin Diadha Chúige Chon- nacht.	An Dr. D. De h-Íde.
A.Gh.Ch.Ch.	Amhráin Grádha Chúige Chon- nacht.	" "
B.B.	An Béal Beo.	Ó Máille, 1936.
C. de Cheol.	Céad de Cheoltaibh Uladh.	Ó Muirgheasa, 1915.
C. is D.	Ciot is Dealáin.	Máire.
Dh. Ch. de Ch. U.	Dhá Chéad de Cheoltaibh Uladh.	Ó Muirgheasa, 1934.
D. Dh. Bh.	Duanairé Dhaibhidh Uí Bhruad- air Iml. III.	McErlean, S.J., 1917.
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Áine, Bean An Bhreathnaigh.  
 Aodh Mac Conshnámhá.  
 Aodh Ó Floinn.  
 Brighid, Bean An Fhallamh-  
 naigh.  
 Brighid Ní Dhorchaidhe.  
 Mícheál MacSeóin.  
 Pádhraic Ó Céilleachar (m'athair)  
 Pádhraic Mac Conchairrge.  
 Peadar Ó Floinn.  
 Peadar MacEoghain.  
 Proinnseas Ó Maolmhoicheirghe.  
 Seosaimhín Ní Mhiadhaigh.  
 Seán Ó Feinneadha.  
 Séamas Ó Dubhthaigh.  
 Stiophán Ó Créamar.  
 Tomás Mac Giolla Mháirtín.  
 Toirdhealach Ó Ruairc.

Cill Fhir Taidhg.  
 Doire na gCaor.  
 Tearmuinn.  
 Rosmór.

Gréach na Fearna.  
 An Ghráinseach.  
 Tearmuinn.  
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 Cor na Muclach.

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 Clann Fhearmaighe.  
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 Muintir Chionnaith.

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 Co. Shligigh.  
 Muintir Chionnaith.  
 Co. Mhuigheó.  
 Muintir Chionnaith.  
 Clann Fhearmaighe.  
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## DÍONBHROLLACH

MUINTIR CHIONNAITH AGUS CLANN FHEARMAIGHE  
(Nóta Staireamhail)

Má fhiafruigtear díom cad chuige ar thogh mé na h-ainmneacha "Muintir Chionnaith" agus "Clann Fhearmaighe" ar an dá cheanntar 'na raibh mé, nuair nach iad na h-ainmneacha sin atá in úsáid indiú, níl de fhreagra agam ach gurab í Brighid, Bean an Fhallamh-naigh a thug dom iad, agus tá Brighid ar na sean-mhnáibh is sine agus is uaisle dár bhuail orm riamh. Sé is lugha is gann dom urraim a thabhairt do'n chríonnacht agus do'n uaisleacht. "Innis-magrath" a tugtar ar Mhuintir Chionnaith indiú agus "Glenfarne" ar chlann Fhearmaighe. Tá Muintir Chionnaith suidhte ar an dtaobh thiar agus ar dtaobh thuaidh de Loch Ailleann agus tá Clann Fhearmaighe suidhte ar an dtaobh thoir agus ar an dtaobh thuaidh de.

Tá an-mheas ag Brighid ar na sean-ainmneacha, ach mar is léir ó cheann de na rannaibh a thug sí dhom tá níos mó measa aice ar lucht a paráiste féin ná mar atá aici ar áitreabhaigh na bparáistí cómhgarach dí; deir sí.

"Scrub Dúbáille  
Eallach a' Ghleanna,  
Míoltoga Bhaile na gCléireach,  
Agus, sweet Muintir Chionnaith"

As Muintir Chionnaith í féin, dar ndóigh. Cuid de Chlann Fhearmaighe 'seadh Baile na gCléireach agus baineann an dá cheanntar eile le Teallach Eachdhach, Co. an Chabháin. Tá rann beag amháin agam Ó Dhúbáille.

Ins na nótaí ar an dán úd a scríobh an Dubhagánach ar dhinn-sheanchas na tíre tá tagairt do'n dá cheanntar, mar atá: "Clann-Chionnaith is more usually called Muintir Cionnaith, and now anglicised Muintir-Kenny. It is the local or traditional name of a territory in the barony of Dromahaire and Co. Leitrim, and lies between Lough Allen and the river Arigna". "Clann Fermaighe is now anglicised Glenfarne. It adjoins Munter-Kenny and both territories are comprised in the barony of Dromahaire, in Co. Leitrim. Glenfarne stretches to the east and north-east of Lough Allen and contains twenty-one quarters of land"

T.P. pp. xxxvi and xxxvii.

Níl iomlán an dá cheanntar túisríomhtha le feiscint ar an léarscáil atá ag dul leis an dtráchtas seo. Níl ann ach na codanna dhíobh atá thart timcheall an locha, ach is ionnta sin a fuair mé an t-adhbhar ar fad atá agam ó Cho. Liathdroma.

## AN GHAEDHILG

## I MUINTIR CHIONNAITH A'S I GCLANN FHEARMAIGHE

Sa mbliadhain 1802 scríobh an Dochtúir Mac Párthaláin faoi ghnáth-theangaidh na ndaoine i gCo. Liathdroma: "The use of the English language is quite general in this country; very few of the old people who don't speak it; the children are all sent to school; any of them addressed in Irish will always answer in English".

(S.S. p. 85).

Deich mbliadhna 'na dhiaidh sin scríobh Edward Wakefield faoi'n rud chéadna: "The Leitrim mountains which I crossed in the month of August 1809 appear to be tolerably well peopled . . . Irish is the common language of the district."

(I.S.P. p. 751).

Má's fíor an rud a dubhairt an Dr Mac Párthaláin: "The use of the English language is quite general in the country," is ana-dheacair a chreideamhaint go dtiocfadh meathlughadh chomh mór sin air i gcionn seacht mbliadhna go bhféadfadh Wakefield a rádh, "Irish is the common language of the district". Is léir go bhfuil lúb ar lár in áit éigin, agus is léir freisin nárbh í an fhírinne ná dílseacht do'n fhírinne ceann do na tréithre a b'aoirde céim ar athmháighistírí Riaghaltas Shasana i n-Éirinn nuair a bhíodar ag toghadh meastóirí chun cur síos a dhéanamh ar mhuinntir na h-Éireann agus ar ar bhain leó.

Ní thig liom a rádh go bhfuil aon eolas pearsanta ag na seandaoine atá beó fós i Muintir Chionnaith agus i gClann Fhearmaighe ar an sgéal mar a bhí nuair a scríobh Mac Párthaláin agus Wakefield, ach do bheadh an t-eolas sin ag a n-aithreacha agus a máithreacha agus de ghnáth ní bhíonn siad mórán amugha nuair a bhíonn siad ag aithris na sgéalta agus na n-eachtraí a bhain le na dtuismightheoirí. Deir siad liom go raibh an Ghaedhilg anfhairsing nuair a bhíodar féin óg agus is mó is in-chreidte an sgéal sin nuair is léir é go bhfuil cuid mhaith Gaedhilge ag suim mhór acu indiu féin gidh gur bheag a gcleachtadh ar a' dteangaidh le seasca bliadhain anuas.

Na daoine sin ó nar bhailigh mé na ranna agus na h-amhráin is eile, sean-daoine 'seadh iad go léir, mar adubhras cheana. Táid uilig ós cionn aois a' phinsiúin, cuid acu i bhfad níos sine, agus tá Brighid, Bean an Fhallamhnaigh ag druidim leis an gcéad. Níl aon eolas acu ar na sean-sgéalta Fiannaidheachta; níl aon eolas cruinn acu ar sgéalta nach iad a chualadar nuair a bhíodar óg; níl insna ranna ná insna h-amhráin atá agam uatha ach an dríodar, ach, ó'n ndríodar sin is féidir tuairim bheith againn ar mhéid agus ar mhaitheas an tobair sul ar thosnuigh sé ag dul i ndísg.

Ní féidir a mheas go raibh an Béarla go foirleathan breis agus céad bliadhna ó shoin má's fíor adeir Aodh Mac Conshnáimha liom go raibh neart Gaedhilge le cloisint ar na h-aontaighe nuair a bhí sé féin óg. Níl sé i bhfad ann ó fuair Miley Eóin Bháin bás, sean-fhear a chomhnúigh achar gearr ó Druim Chaorthainn, agus deir



Brighid, Bean an Fhallamhnaigh, liom go n-aithriseadh sé Deich n-Aitheanta Dé agus an Teagasc Críostuidhe agus paidreacha nach iad do'n phobal gach maidin Domhnaigh roimh theacht an t-sagairt chun an t-Aifreann do léigh. Is í an Ghaedhilg a úsáideadh Miley i gcomhnuidhe, agus níl na daoine chomh h-amaideach sin agus a rádh is go n-éisteóchadh siad le fear nár thuigeadar. Bhí an obair naomhtha sin ar siubhal ag Miley go dtí an bhliadhain sul a bhfuair sé bás. D'éag sé san mbliadhain 1904 agus caithfidh go ndearna sé an teagasc go maith mar atá an chuid is mó de'n Teagasc Chríostuidhe de ghlan-mheabhair fós ag Brighid.

Tá aithne agam féin anois féin ar chúigear ar a laighead agus d'fhéadfaidís comhrádh choingbheáil suas leat ar chúrsaí an t-saoghail ar feadh an lae agus ní fhéadfaidís an sgéal bheith amhlaidh muna raibh Gaedhilg mhaith ag a n-aithreacha agus ag a máithreacha. Deirtear liom freisin go bhfuil beirt sean-bhan, deirbh-shiúracha 'seadh iad, 'na gcomhnuidhe i gClann Fhearmaighe agus gurab í an Ghaedhilg a ngnáth-theanga. Thugas féin cuairt ortha, ach ní bhfuair mé mórán uatha mar sílim go raibh sgáth ortha romham, agus ní raibh sé d'uain agam fós dul thar n-ais chuca arís.

O'n méid adubhairt Wakefield, agus ó'n eolas atá agam féin agus ó na sean-daoine ar an gConndae ní h-in-chreidte, d'réir mo thuairme-se, ráidhte Mhic Phárthaláin. D'féadfaidís an sgéal bheith fíor, b'fhéidir, má's Cara Droma Rúisc agus ceanntair chumhanga thart timcheall air atá i gceist aige, áiteanna a ndeacha an Gall-dachas i bhfeidhm ortha go luath; ach taobh amuigh de sin ní dóigh liom go bhfuil an ceart aige cor ar bith. In áit na fírinne scríobh sé an rud ba mhaith leis bheith fíor, nó, rud ba dhóchaighe fós, scríobh sé an rud a thiubhradh meas air fhéin agus a thiubhradh taithneamh agus aoibhneas do'n dream a raibh sé ag obair dóibh.

### III. NÓTAÍ URLABHRAIDHEACHTA

#### I. Cómharthaigheacht.

Maidir le cómhartaigheacht na son san dtráchtas seo is iad na cómhartaí atá i n-úsáid i leabhar an Mháilligh a úsáidim.<sup>1</sup> Bhí

<sup>1</sup>De thairbhe deacrachtaí clódóireachta b'éigean simpliú a dhéanamh ar chóras foghraíochta an údair. Fágadh an córas go bunúsach mar a bhí ach go ndearnadh na hathruithe seo air:

- (a) Cuirtear: i ndiaidh guta in ionad - os a chionn le faid a chur in iúl.
- (b) Le béim an ghutha a mharcáil i bparagraf 13 cuirtear ' roimh shiolla aiceanta in ionad ' os a chionn.
- (c) Corruair bíonn fleiscín ag an údar idir dhá fhocal foghraíochta áit ar gnách a leithéid sa ghnáthlitriú. Fágтар ar lár é i gcás mar seo ach coinnítear é in áit arbh fhéidir é bheith ina chomhartha ar hiatas.
- (d) Amanna bíonn K, K', M, P ag an údar haf miníú ar bith ar an chiall atá leo. Ní scríobhtar anseo ach k, k', m, p orthu.
- (e) Scríobhtar na comharthaí seo a leanas áit a mbíonn na cinn i lúibíní ag an údar:

x ( ), x' (ə), f (š), z (ž), a (a, ɑ, ɒ), ɔ (a, ɔ, ɔ), o (o, ɔ, ɔ), u (u, ʊ),  
i (i, ɪ, ɪ), I (i), i (i, ɪ), ə (ə, ɜ, ɞ).

*Urlabhraidheacht* mar threoir agam i rith na h-oibre seo ar fad. Bhaineas úsáid go minic freisin as an leabhar úd eile—*A Dialect of Donegal* le Quiggin.

## 2. NA GUTHAIDHTHE.

Níl annseo agam ach na suin atá neamh-choitcheann mar a fuair mé féin iad.

*a > u*

agus: **ugos** (B. Bean an Fhallamhnaigh)  
sagart: **sugert** (Aodh Mac Conshnámha)  
tachorán: **tuxra:n** (Aodh Mac C.).

*abh > ó, ú, ou:*

sleabhcán: **ʃl'ó:ka:n** (T. Mac G. Mháirtín).  
sleabhcán: **ʃl'u:ka:n** (Aodh Mac C.).  
sleabhcán: **ʃl'əuka:n** (P. Mac Eoghain).

*adh > E*

Tadhg: **tæg** (Aodh Mac C.) (Chuala mé **təig** freisin).

*ai > u.*

bail: **bul** (**bul**) i ngach áit i Muintir Chionnaith agus i gClann Fhearraighe. Chualas an fhuaim chéadna ag Áine, Bean an Bhreathnaigh.

paileabhair: **puləuwər'** (Aodh Mac Conshnámha).

*aibh > i sa bhfocal raibh.*

Cé raibh tú: **k'ε: rī** (**rēi**) **tu:** (Muintir Chionnaith agus Clann Fhearraighe).

*agh > éa, ao.*

slaghdán: **ʃlɛ:da:n** (T. Ó Ruairc).  
slaghdán: **ʃlɪ:da:n** (Aodh Mac Conshnámha).

*ea > éa*

seagal: **ʃɛ:gəl** (T. Ó Ruairc).

*i > í*

fiche: **f'i:x'ə** (Aodh Mac Conshnámha).

*io > ó*

iongantais: **ō:ntəʃ** (S. Ó Créamar).

*io > ío*

crios: **k'r'i:s** (S. Ó Dubthaigh).  
iomlán: **i:mla:n** (S. Ó Dubthaigh).



- io* > *éa*  
dhíol: **js:l** (Aodh Mac Conshnámha).
- o* > *a*  
scolb: **sgaləb** (Áine, Bean an Bhreathnaigh).
- oi* > *u*  
goid: **gud** (T. Mac G. Mháirtín).  
doineannta: **dunəntə** (Á. Bean an Bhreathnaigh).
- ua* > *ao*  
bruach: **bri:x** (Aodh Mac C.). Níor mhothuigh mé an t-athrughadh seo ach in aon fhocal eile.
- cf. *Q*. Alt bb; *UR*. Alt 306.
- ua* > *ó*  
Fuarán: **fo:ra:n** (B. Bean an Fhallamhnaigh).  
a' bualadh: **ə bo:lu:** (Aodh Ó Floinn).
3. NA CONSOIN.
- b tosaigh* > *p*.  
baileabhair > paileabhair. (Aodh Mac Conshnámha).
- cn* > *cr*.  
cnáibe > cráibe. (Aodh Ó Floinn).
- d* > *g*  
De'n: **gən** (Á. Bean an Bh. agus passim).  
bás a d'fhagháil: **ba:s ə ga:l'** (Aodh Mac Conshnámha).  
a chuid olna de: **ə xid' olə gə** (T. Mac G. Mháirtín).  
do'n Mac Dé: **gən mak d'ε:** (B. Bean an Fhallamhnaigh).  
Uaireannta fanann an d. Níl sa mhéid thuas ach cúpla sampla.
- g* > *c*.  
Pádraig: **pa:drək'** (Aodh Mac Conshnámha).  
uilig: **il'ək'** (T. O R. a's S. Ó Feinneadha).  
tháinig: **han'ək'** (Aodh Mac Conshnámha).
- g* > *dʒ*  
gabhgaidhe: **gəudʒi:** (P. Ó Maolmhoicheirghe).  
cf. *Ur*. Alt 148.
- gn* > *gr*.  
gní sé: **g'r'i: sε:** (B. Bean an Fhallamhnaigh).  
gnaoi: **gri:** (B. Bean an Fhallamhnaigh).  
gnaithe **gruɦi:** (P. Ó Maolmhoicheirghe).

*igh, idh > j*

ár ndóigh: **ər nɔ:jə**  
greim bidh: **g'r'im' b'i:je**  
go tigh: **gə t'i:je**

(Aodh Mac Conshnámha).

(Aodh Mac Conshnámha).

(Aodh Mac Conshnámha).

*ighe > i.*

láighe: **la:i**

(i Muintir Ch. agus i gClann Fhearmaighe) cf. *UR*. Alt 92.

*l > ll. n > nn.*

Deireann an Máilleach go bhfuil an t-athrughadh seo an choitcheann i dtuaisceart Chonnacht. Casadh orm na somplaí seo.

ráinín: **ra:n'i:n'**

(M'athair).

scoigneán: **sgig'n'a:n**

(T. Mac G. Mháirtín).

aníos: **ən'is** (sic)

(Á Bean an Bhreathnaigh).

cearc an áilín: **k'ark na:l'i:n'**

(S. Ó Feinneadha).

cailín **kal'i:n'** (sic)

(T. Ó Ruairc).

glúna: **glu:nə**

(Aodh Mac Conshnámha).

*Ní déantar L de l indhiaridh r.*

Béarla: **b'ɛ:rlə**

(Aodh Mac C.).

cf. *Ur.*, Alt. 118.

*nn-caol > ng-caol. = ɲ'*

i n-Éirinn: **ə n'e:r'ɲ'**

(Aodh Mac C.).

Chun Aifrinn: **naf'r'əɲ'**

(Aodh Mac C.).

Dá marbhuighinn: **a: marwɪ:ɲ'**

(T. Ó Ruairc).

Dá n-ithinn: **a: n'ihəɲ'**

(T. Ó Ruairc).

Fearthainn: **f'arəɲ'**

(B. Bean an Fhallamhaigh).

cf. *Ur*. Alt. 106.

*nd > nn.*

seanduine: **ʃanin'ə**

(Aodh Mac C. agus T. Mac G. Mh.).

ach

seanduine: **ʃan din'ə**

(Á. Bean an Bhreathnaigh).

*ng > nn.*

foranglais: **fura:nləʃ**

(M'athair).

cf. *Ur*. Alt. 105.

*r-caol > j.*

Ceann de na neithe, is mó a tugtar fá ndeara i M. Chionnaith agus i gClann Fhearmaighe 'seadh go ndéantar conson tosaigh fosgailte de r caol. Tá sé sin amhlaidh nuair is i siollaí neamhaicionta a bhíonn r-caol, agus fiú amháin, uaireanta nuair is i siollaí aicionta féin a bhíonn sé. Thugas fá ndeara an t-athrughadh céadna i n-Oirthear Mhuigheó, agus uaireanta i gCo. Shligigh.

cf. *P.D.I.* lch. 74. r' > zh



faoi bhreith: <b>fɪ: v'j</b> (sic)	(B. Bean an Fhallamhnaigh).
A Naomh Muire: <b>ə nɪ: muɪjə</b>	(B. Bean an Fhallamhnaigh).
Trócaire: <b>tro: kɪ: jə</b>	(B. Bean an Fhallamhnaigh).
Éire: <b>e: jə</b>	(Aodh Mac Conshnámha).
Teach bréagh: <b>t'ax b'ja:</b>	(Aodh Mac Conshnámha).
Na bréithre bréaghtha: <b>nə</b>	(Aodh Mac Conshnámha).
<b>b'je:-ə b'ja:-ə</b>	
gáire: <b>ga: jə</b>	(Aodh Mac Conshnámha).
Máire: <b>ma: jə</b>	(Gach áit).
Malaidh go náire: <b>mali: gə</b>	(A. Mac C.).
<b>na: jə</b>	
ceapaire: <b>k'apɪjə</b>	(A. Mac C.).
go breágh: <b>gə b'ja:</b>	(T. Mac G. Mháirtín).
dréimire: <b>d'r'e:m'əjə</b>	(T. Mac G. Mháirtín).
Ag spréidheadh móna: <b>ə sb'je:w</b>	(A. Ó Floinn).
<b>mū:nə</b>	
Tréithre: <b>t'r'e:jə</b>	(Aodh Mac Ch.).
fair: <b>faj</b>	(Aodh Mac Ch.).

*r-caol i n-Oirthear Mhuigheó.*

gáire: <b>ga: jə</b>	(Séamus Ó Dubhthaigh).
brísde: <b>b'jɪd'ə</b> (sic)	(Séamus Ó Dubhthaigh).
ceithre coinnle: <b>k'ejə</b>	(Séamus Ó Dubhthaigh).
<b>k'in' l'ə</b> (sic)	
buaidhreadh: <b>bu: əjə</b>	(Séamus Ó Dubhthaigh).
An t-Seamair Mhuire: <b>ə</b>	(Séamus Ó Dubhthaigh).
<b>t'amuijə wuijə</b>	
íomaire fataí: <b>umuijə fatɪ:</b>	(P. Mac Conchairrge).

*r-caol caillte ar fad.*

ag iascaireacht: <b>əg' i: əsgɪəxd</b>	(D. Ó Dubhthaigh).
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*r-caol i gCo. Shligigh.*

íomaire: <b>umuijə</b>	(M. Mac Seóin).
íomaire fataí: <b>umər'ə fatɪ:</b>	(S. Ó Feinneadha).
faire: <b>far'ə</b>	(Á. Bean an Bhreathnaigh).

*r-caol > th caol. (M. Chionnaith agus Clann Fhearmaighe).*  
*póirín > póithín: po:hi:n' (po:x'i:n')*

*s > 3*

insa bpríosún: <b>ənsə b'r'i:gu:n</b>	(A. Mac Conshnámha).
cf. <i>Ur.</i> , Alt 148.	

*s > f sa bhfocal leigheas.*  
*leigheas: l'əif*

(A. Mac Conshnámha).

*s* > *f* roimh *l*—leathan.

sláimín: **slá:m'i:n'**

slaghdan: **slɛ:da:n**

slaghdán: **slɛ:da:n**

(M'athair).

(T. Ó Ruairc).

(Aodh Mac Conshnámha).

Ach ar an dtaobh eile chuala mé,

slán: **slá:n**

slodán: **sluda:n**

slais: **slɔf**

(T. Ó Ruairc).

(Aodh Mac Conshnámha).

(M'athair).

*s* > *f* roimh *R*—leathan.

sruth: **sruf**

sraíd: **sra:d'**

sraithar: **sraħə**

(T. Mac G. Mháirtín).

(B. Bean an Fhallamhnaigh).

(Séamus Ó Dubhthaigh).

*Fanann t* indiadh *x*

dochtúirí: **doxtu:r'i:**

seachtmhain: **saxtən'**

(A. Mac Conshnámha).

(Aodh Mac C.).

*th* > *x'* *gh* > *x'*

luaithé: **lu:əx'ə**

ar bith: **er' b'ix'**

(Á. Bean an Bhreathnaigh).

(Á. Bean an B. agus A. Mac Conshnámha).

maithe: **max'ə**

gaoithe: **gyx'ə**

scoith: **sgəix'**

amuigh: **əmuix'**

(T. Mac G. Mháirtín).

(S. Ó Dubhthaigh).

(T. Mac G. Mháirtín).

(S. Ó Dubhthaigh).

*x* + *f* > *s*.

nach fearr: **nax sar**

(Seán Ó Feinneadh).

(Grange, Co. Sligo).

4. B. GOTHACH. (sic)

marbhuighfe sé: **marwə fɛ:**

dá marbhuighinn: **a: marwi:ŋ'**

a mharbhuighfeas: **ə w̃arwi:əs**

nár mharbhuighe: **na:r warwi**

An Riabhaigh: **ə r'i:əwi:**

(T. Ó Ruairc).

(T. Ó Ruairc).

(B. Bean an Fhallamhnaigh).

(B. Bean an Fhallamhnaigh).

(T. Ó Ruairc).

5. URDHUBHADH AGUS SÉIMHIUGHADH AR LÁR.

Insa párlúr.

ar an bóthar.

ar an codladh—'na-sheasamh  
sin.

faoi'n cruaic.

ar an dochtúir.

insa pota.

insa párdóig.

(A. Mac Conshnámha).

(S. Ó Dubhthaigh).

(Aodh Mac Conshnámha).

(Aodh Mac C.).

(Aodh Mac C.).

(Aodh Mac C.).

(Aodh Ó Floinn).



faoi'n blaoisg.  
ar an teallach.  
leis an Glas Gaibhleann.  
ar an bó.  
ar an teine.  
insa poll.

(T. Mac C. Mháirtín).  
(P. Ó Floinn).  
(P. Ó Maolmoicheirghe).  
(M. Mac Seóin).  
(B. Ní Dhorchaidhe).  
(M. Mac Seóin).

6. URDHUBHADH SA TUISEAL TABHARTHACH.

Ar an ngríosaigh  
ar an gCailligh Ruaidh.

(T. Ó Ruairc).  
(M. Chionnaith agus Clann  
Fhearmaighe).

leis an gcogadh.  
insa bpríosún.  
sa gclúide.

(M. Mac Seóin).  
(Aodh Mac Conshnámha).  
(Aodh Mac Conshnámha).

7. SÉIMHIUGHADH SA TUISEAL TABHARTHACH.

sa Bhéarla.

(Aodh Mac Conshnámha).

8. SÉIMHIUGHADH AR LÁR.

Má cailleann tú.  
Má léigheann tú: **ma: l' ε: jən tu:**  
Mo leabaidh: **mə l'abr:**  
Aon bean.

(Á. Bean an Bhreathnaigh).  
(Á. Bean an Bh.).  
(A. Mac Conshnámha).  
(Aodh Mac C.).

9. NEITHE NACH RÉIDHTIGHEANN LEIS AN NGRAMADAIGH.

cuid mo chomharsa.

(B. Bean an Fhallaamhnaigh agus  
passim).

ar an aonaigh.

(Aodh Mac Conshnámha agus  
passim).

i nÉire.

(Go minic, i ngach áit).

lucht na béarla.

(A. Mac Conshnámha).

An Comhairle.

(T. Mac G. Mháirtín).

Dhá fuinneóga.

(Aodh Mac Conshnámha).

Dhá páistín.

(Aodh Mac Conshnámha).

Mar (= mura) bean mo bhean.

(Aodh Mac Conshnámha).

Mar (= mura) bean mo  
mháthair.

(Aodh Mac Conshnámha).

A Chuinn > **xun.**

(S. Ó Dubhthaigh).

Tá an mion-fhocal ar lár sa tuiséal ghairmeach.

cf. *Eigse*, II, 148.

10. CUMUSG NA GCONSÁN.

Cuid de na neithe atá annseo agam ní dhéanann an Máilleach aon trácht ortha. Ní bhfuairéas i gcomhnuidhe mar a fuair an Máilleach, agus áit ar bith nach bhfuilim ar aon fhocal leis, d'éirir mo chluaisé, cuirim síos an rud a chualas féin.

*c > g indhiaidh s.*

Is cead bheith agam: **əs g'ad** (T. Mac G. Mháirtín).  
**v'e gum**

*dh > d.*

Fanann dh mar d roimh f ins na briathra de ghnáth ach chuala mé **x** ag Aodh Mac Conshnámha agus ó T. Ó Ruairc.

*Fanann l' mar l' roimh t.*

Nach bhfuil tú: **nax wíl' tu:** (Aodh Mac Conshnámha).  
cf. *Ur.*, Alt. 352.

*r > s roimh t.*

Goidé mar tá tú: **gədɛ** (sic) (M. Mac Seóin).  
**məs ta: tu:**

*r' > r roimh r.*

Sráid a' bhóthair róidh: **frad'** (B. Bean an Fhallamhnaigh).  
**ə wō:hər ro: j**

*r' > r roimh s.*

Cuir suas é: **kur suəs ɛ:** (Á. Bean an Bhreathnaigh).  
Cuir scuab air: **kur sgu:əb ər'** (P. Ó Floinn).

*Fanann r caol roimh f.*

Cuir síos arís é: **k'ir'** (sic) **fi:s** (B. Bean an Fhallamhnaigh).  
**ər'if** (sic) **ɛ:**

cf. *Ur.*, Alt 345.

*s > f roimh t.*

(a) shíleas tú: **ə hi:l'əf tu:** (Aodh Mac C.).  
cf. *Ur.*, Alt 348.

*Fanann s mar s roimh l', l', g'.*

agus léighfidh: **agəs le:f'ə** (Á. Bean an Bhreathnaigh).  
a bhaineas leis: **ə wan'əs l'əf** (Á. Bean an Bh.).  
is gcead bheith: **əs g'ad v'e** (T. Mac G. Mháirtín).  
cf. *Ur.*, Alt 354.

*Fanann f roimh d.*

innis dom: **in'əf dʊm.** (Á. Bean an Bhreathnaigh).  
cf. *Ur.*, Alt 348.

## II. SRÓNGHAIL.

Gan áireamh a dheánamh ar chaint Thomáis Mhic Giolla Mháirtín bhí an t-srónghail níos láidre i Muintir Chionnaith ná mar a bhí sí i gClann Fhearmaighe. Uaireanta rinneadh u de'n o roimh conson srónach, ach go minic d'fhan sé mar o.



## 12. AN BRIATHAR "CHUAIDH" 7rl.

Chuaidh: **xu:ig'**, **xu:i** (Aodh Mac Conshnámha).  
 Chuaidh: **xu:i** (S. Ó Créamar).

cf. *Ur.*, Alt 182.

d'éirigh: **e:r'ig'** (Aodh Mac Conshnámha) Bhí an  
 d ar lár.  
 druid: **drig'** (i M. Chionnaith agus i gC.  
 Fhearmaighe).

## 13. AN BÉIM GOTHÁ.

"I gCo. Liatroma agus Ros Comáin i bhfocla dhe-shiollacha a bhfuil *nn*, *m(m)* in a ndeireadh is ar an dara siolla bhíos béim an ghotha . . . i gCo. Liatroma freisin, i bhfocla a bhfuil *i*, *é*, nó *á* sa dara siolla, bíonn, sgaithte, an béim ar an siolla sin." (*Ur.*, lch. 109).

Tugann an Máilleach annsin liosta focal mar léiriughadh ar an méid atá ráidhte aige. Chuala mé sé cinn de na focla a luadhann sé agus is ar an gcéad siolla a bhí béim an ghotha i gcás ceithre gceann acu. Mar seo a fuairéas-sa.

*An Béim gotha ar an gcéad siolla.*

Loch Ailleann: **lox 'al'in** (Aodh Mac Conshnámha).  
 Muileann: **'muil'ən** (Aodh Mac C.).  
 Móinín: **'mū:n'i:n'** (A. Ó Floinn, m'thair).  
 Goirtín: **'gort'i:n'** (A. Ó Floinn).

*An Béim gotha ar an dara siolla.*

Tearmonn: **t'ar'mun** (T. Mac G. Mháirtín).  
 sliabh an Iarainn: **sl'i:əw ən'** (T. Mac G. Mháirtín).  
**iə'rín'**  
 Bocán: **bə'ka:n** (M. Chionnaith agus C.  
 Fhearmaighe).

Níl an focal bocán insan liosta atá ag an Máilleach.  
 Chuala mé an focal "Tearmuinn" freisin leis an mbéim gotha ar an gcéad siolla.

## IV. FOCLA AGUS RÁIDHTE Ó CHÚIGE ULADH SA gCAINT.

*I M. Chionnaith agus i gClann Fhearmaighe.*

brais, slais, sgrathóg, pútrachán, dadaí, ceannóg, munadh, fríd, goidé mar tá tú, mo chuid croicinn, mo chuid cuisleann, a dul a lomadh mo chaorach, a dh'fhéidhm ort, thullach thallach.

*Anál a' Tuaiscirt i bhfuaimiughadh na bhfocal seo.*

spealadóir, toibheadóireacht, spídeóireacht, (*sic*) fear a toighe, barr a toighe.

*b—tosaigh > p.*

baileabhair > paileabhair.

*Anál Uladh i dtuaisceart Co. Shligigh.*

Deánfaidh mé.

(M. Mac Seóin).

Súpla agus láfrann.

(S. Ó Feinneadha).

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## CANAMHAINT MHUINTIR CHIONNAITH AGUS CLANN FHEARMAIGHE

Taobh amuigh de ráidhte Mhic Phárthaláin agus Wakefield ní h-éol dom aon ghluais eile ar stáid na teangadh i gCo. Liathdroma go dtí an bhliadhain 1932 nuair a dubhairt Tomás F. Ó Rathaille:—"How far, if at all, Ulster characteristics may have spread here and there across the Connacht border, it is now difficult perhaps impossible, to decide. To answer the question we should need to know very much more than we do concerning the lost Irish of Leitrim and of Carbury (in N.E. Sligo). In one place at least, the dialectal boundary must have pretty well coincided with the geographical one. Near Drumkeerin, Co. Leitrim a few Irish speakers have survived to our own day; and to judge by what O Máille has reported of them, their Irish would seem to be more or less free from Ulsterisms".

Mar adeir T. F. Ó Rathaille tá sé an-deacair anois anál an Tuaiscirt ar chanamhaint an chuid thoir-thuaidh de Chonnachta a mheas, ach ní dóigh liom go bhfuil an sgéal chomh h-olc nó chomh do-leigheasta sin nach féidir tuairim réasúnta cruinn d'fhagháil air fós. Téigheann an Rathailleach thar fóir freisin san méid a deir sé faoi "the lost Irish of Leitrim and of Carbury". Bhí mé ins an dá áit agus mar atá ráidhte agam san nóta staireamhail ar stáid na teangadh i Muintir Chionnaith agus i gClann Fhearmaighe tá roinnt mhaith Gaedhilge beó fós i gCo. Liathdroma. Maidir le Carbury níor casadh orm ann ach beirt a raibh Gaedhilg acu, ach d'fhéadfadh tuille a bheith ann mar ní raibh sé d'uain agam ach cuairt ghearr a thabhairt ar an áit. Tá duine aca sin, Séan Ó Féinneadha, agus tá tuisgint mhaith aige ar an dteangaidh, ach i gcás focail nó dhó níor fhéad mé aon rian Ultach d'fhagháil ar a chuid cainnte.

Nuair a chuidheas i mbun na h-oibre seo ar dtús do bheartuigheas gan bacadh ach le giotaí a bheadh réasúnta fada, ach d'éirigheas as sin mar b'fhacthas dom gurbh fhearr maidir le cúrsaí canamhna a mheas, gnáth-chomhrádh agus cainnt na ndaoine ná rann filidheachta ar bith. Muna bhfuiltear cinnte faoi'n áit 'nar cumadh an dán, is fearr claidhe le gnáth-chainnt na h-áite a táthar a d'iarraidh a mheas, mar nuair a théigheas rann nó amhrán thar a bhaile dhúth-chais cailleann sé a thairbhe, d'rér mo thuairime-se, maidir le solus a thabhairt ar chanamhaint. Sin é an fáth gur bhreac mé síos ní h-amháin na h-amhráin agus na ranna ach gach aon fhocal eile a fuair mé imeasc na ndaoine.

Níl canamhaint Mhuintir Chionnaith agus Chlann Fhearmaighe

saor ar fad ó anál an Tuaiscirt mar is léir ó'n liosta focal ó Chúige Uladh ins an dá áit. Ceart go léor deireann na daoine "Dadaí" agus "goidé mar tá tú", ach ní blas an Ultaigh a bhíos acu ar na focla sin ach blas an Chonnachtaigh. Níl rian de bhlas an Ultaigh ar a gcuid cainnte fiú amháin ar a gcuid Béarla. Níl lorg ar bith de'n "cha" úd a usáidtear i gCúige Uladh 'na gcuid cainnte; "ní" a úsáideas siad i gcomhnuidhe do'n fhuirm dhiúltaigh. D'réir mo chluaise bhí blas an Tuaiscirt le cloistéail i bhfuaimniughadh na bhfocal seo:—toibheadóireacht (*sic*), spídeadoireacht (*sic*), spealadóir-eacht agus fear a' toighe. Taobh amuigh de'n mhéid sin agus de na focla eile ó'n dTuaisceart i gcainnt na ndaoine ar a bhfuil blas agus fuaimniughadh an Chonnachtaigh acu ortha, níl, im dhóigh-se, aon rian eile d'anál an Tuaiscirt i Muintir Chionnaith ná i gClann Fhearmaighe.

Ar an dtaobh eile dhe, ámh, is soiléir dom go bhfuil cosamhlacht mhór idir chainnt na ndaoine ins na h-áiteanna seo leanas; Muintir Chionnaith agus Clann Fhearmaighe i gCo. Liathdroma; an Ghráinseach agus Cill Fhir Taidhg i gCo. Shligigh; Cill Móbhí in Oirthear Mhuigheó.

Gan áireamh a dhéanamh ar mhion-phoinntí tá an blas céadna agus an fuaimniughadh céadna acu go léir. 'Sé an rud is mó a thugas fá ndeara i gcanamhaint Mhuintir Chionnaith agus Chlann Fhearmaighe go ndéantar conson tosaigh fosgailte de "r" caol i siollaí neamh-aicionta agus uaireannta i siollaí aicionta féin. (cf. Conson Uimh. 15). Thug an Máilleach an t-athrugadh céadna fá ndeara i nGaedhilg Liathdroma agus sa mhéid de Roscomáin agus de Cho. Shligigh atá le n-ais, ach de réir mar a fuaireas-sa tá an tréith seo (r caol) i bhfad níos soiléire agus níos so-aitheanta in Oirthear Mhuigheó ná mar atá sé in áit eile in a raibh mé, agus freisin, níos comhgaraihe de'n fhuaim atá le fagháil i Muintir Chionnaith agus i gClann Fhearmaighe.

"Ionn" a cloistear i gCo. Liathdroma in ionad "ann". Chuala mé an fhuaim chéadna in Oirthear Mhuigheó.

"S" a cloistear de ghnáth roimh "r" leathan sa gcuid is mó de Chúige Chonnachta de réir an Mháilligh agus maidir, le Clann Fhearmaighe agus le h-Oirthear Mhuigheó is amhlaidh a fuair mé é. Rud eile dhe bíonn urdhubhadh agus séimhiughadh ar lár go minic san tuiséal tabharthach uathaidh indiaidh an ailt sa gcaint i Muintir Chionnaith agus i gClann Fhearmaighe; ach, áit nach raibh an conson maol, is urdhubhadh a bhí ann, rud a thaisbeánfadh gur le canamhaint de chanamhaintí Chonnacht a bhain an chainnt.

Déantar "g" de "d" ins na réamh-fhocla "de" agus "do" go minic freisin.

Ar bhreathnughadh ar an gceist dhom, thríd is thríd, 'sé mo thuairim go mbaineann canamhaint Mhuintir Chionnaith agus Chlann Fhearmaighe le canamhaint an chuid thoir thuaidh de Chonnachtaibh ach insan am céadna go bhfuil sí níos comhgaraihe

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do'n chanamhaint atá i nOirthear Mhuigheó ná mar atá sí d'aon chanamhaint eile dá bhfuil ar eolas agam-sa.

cf. Roinn 11 "Canamhaint na nDánta."

## FOCLA EILE

### *Dráchaidh: (dra:xi:)*

Focal an-choitcheannta i gCo. Liathdroma 'seadh Dráchaidh. "Isn't that a dráchaidh day" a deirtear. Droch-lá salach a bhéadh i gceist. Ní bhéadh an bháisteach ró-throm, ach mar sin féin ní béifí abhfad amuigh go mbéifí fiuch báidhte.

cf. D.—wet, dirty (of weather).

### *Scárdán (sga:rda:n)*

Focal a cloistear go minic i gCo. Liathdroma seadh scárdán go mór-mhór in ainmneacha áiteann.

D'réir na sean-daoine eas 'seadh é pé acu beag é nó measardha mór. I sruthán (*srufa:n*) sléibhe a faightear an scárdán de ghnáth. Mar seo a mhínigh Tomás Mac Giolla Mháirtín dhom é.

"Tá scárdán i mbaile fearainn Tulach a' Bhacháin.

Tagann sé cinn de ghlaisibh beaga le chéile ag Brocach (*brokæx*). Déantar sruth (*sruf*) amháin díobh; tuiteann sé le fánaidh agus déanann sé scárdán."

cf. *Ar aghaidh. Lughnasa* 1940.—"Gaedhilg Cho. Liathdroma."

"Tá an focal scárdán acu ar rock-pinnacle."

cf. *B.B.* lch. 151; *C. is D.*, lch. 14.

### *sibhneóg: (siv'n'o:g) (sic)*

Focal an-tsuimeamhail é seo. Ó m'athair féin a fuair mé é agus chuala mé freisin é ó Aodh Ó Floinn ó'n gceannntar chéadna.

Timcheall seasa bliadhan ó shoin b'annamh a baintí feidhm as rópa cnáibe i gCo. Laithdroma. B'ar éigin é má bhí a leithéid ann san am ar chor ar bith. As fidheoga nó cochan a déantaí pé rópaí a bhéadh ag teastáil.

Tarraingtí na fidheoga as a mbonn féin agus buailtí le slis iad. Leagtaí amach i sreathaibh de bheirtíní beaga iad annsin agus fightí le chéile iad; fighe tré-dhualach amháin i lár baill le na gcoinneáil gan scor ó na chéile an fhaid a bhídís 'ghá dtriomughadh. Tugtaoí *sibhneóg* ar an srathar beag seo.

Leagtaoí an t-sibhneóg amuigh ar an bhfál go dtí go mbíodh sí comh tirim le snaoisín. Caithtí suas ar an bhfaradh annsin í agus uair ar bith a bhéadh gádh le rópa déantaí ceann as an *scoith* seo. Scoith a tugtaí ar na fidheoga tar éis dóibh bheith bainte, buailte agus triomugthe.

I gClann Fhearmaighe ar an dtaobh eile de loch Ailleann tugtar seisceánn (**sejka:n**) (sic) ar an sibhneóg.

cf. Or. Suppl "Sibinne Rindhlasa"

cf. *Gearrbhaile*.—An tEarrach 1930, L. 32.

"Is ionann sinneóg (sibhneóg) agus rud a bhíodh ar crochadh ar thaobh na teine 'na mbíodh sicín nó éinín gé lag."

Is dócha go mbíodh an cliabhán déanta as luachra nó sibhíní.

*Teach Alluis*—(**t'ax alif**)

Corr is seasga bliadhan ó shoin bhí an teach alluis gnáthach i gCo. Liathdroma. Tomás Mach Giolla Mháirtín sean-fhear a chomhnuigheas i gClann Fhearmaighe a thug an t-eolas seo dom mar chonnaic sé féin iad faoi lán-tseól.

Cuma cruiceóige a bhí ortha agus b'as clocha a bhí siad déanta. Taobh amuigh de na clocha bhíodh scraitheacha 'ghá gclúdach, agus annseo is annsiúd fágadh puill bheaga chun an deatach do leigint amach. Bhí doras beag cumhang ionnta agus urlár leacach taobh istigh.

I gceart-lár an urláir lastaí morc mór teineadh agus i gcionn sgathaimh bhéadh an áit istigh an-te. Tógtaoi amach an teine annsin agus spréidhtí úr-luachra ar an urlár. Théigheadh na daoine isteach annsin, ceathrar de ghnáth, agus d'fhanfaidís ann ar feadh uaire nó dhó. Thiocfaidís amach agus an t-allus ag tuitim leo. Gearr-thamall in a dhiaidh sin tar éis leigint dóibh féin fuaradh roinnt do níghidís iad féin sa sruthán díreach mar a dhéanadh na Fianna anallód.

Ar bhruach srutha a bhíodh an teach alluis suidhte de ghnáth. Níl fagtha indiu ach na fothracha—Chonnaiceas féin iad sna bailte fearainn seo i bparáiste Bhaile na gCléireach:

dhá cheann i Sliabh na Cille

„ „ i Sráth na nGarbhánach.

ceann i nDruim a' Leasa.

„ i dTulach a' Bhacháin.

„ i gCor a' Liobair.

#### 45. BEANNACHTA AGUS MALLACHTA.

Tá na gnáth-bheannachta ag bunadh Liathdroma—"Go mbeannuighe Dia duit, go mbeannuighe Dia's Muire duit 7rl", ach taobh amuigh díobh sin tá beannachta acu agus fiú amháin corr-mhallacht nár chuala mé in aon áird eile de'n tír.

#### *I. Maidir le fiafruighe sláinte.*

Má's í an Ghaedhilg a labhras an sean-duine agus é ag fiafruighe do shláinte deir sé. "Godé mar tá tú." 'Sé a fhreagra sin "gohumchaoi." (**gə huməxi:**). Níl fhios agam an bhfuil an focal "gohumchaoi" le cloisint taobh amuigh de Cho. Liathdroma, ach tá sé go



foirleathan i M. Chionnaith agus i gClann Fhearmaighe. Lasmuigh de'n Chonndae chuir mé ceist ar dhaoine i gConamara, i n-Oirthear Mhuigheó, i dTuaisceart Co. Shligigh ach níor chuala aoinne é. Deirtear liom go bhfuil "goh-umchaoi" le cloisint fós in-oirthear Ros Comáin ach níor chuala mé féin é.

Cialluigheann sé, go réasúnta, go measardha.

cf. D. Go h-íomchubhaidh.

Chuala an Máilleach an focal i dtuaisceart Co. Liathdroma, i nGleann Éada.

cf. B.B. lch. 5.

II. Is mór an gara an  
méid sin féin.

əs m̥u:r ə ɡarə  
m'e:d' ʃin' f'e:n'

III. *Ag dul ar aistear.*  
Rath agus bail orm go  
dtigidh mé ar ais.

rah əɡəs bul ɔrm (sic) ɡə  
d'ig'i: m'e: r'af

IV. *'Dul ar an aonach.*  
Go dtéighidh tú slán,  
Go gcuiridh Dia rath ort,  
Go dtigidh tú ar ais slán.

ɡə d'e:jə tu: sla:n  
ɡə ɡi:r'i: d'ia rah ɔrt  
ɡə d'ig'i: tu raf sla:n

(Ní déantar s de ʃ roimh s. cf. *Ur.*, Alt 348)

Bean a tighe a deireadh an phaidir sin len a fear céile agus é ar tí dul ar an aonach.

V. *Aimsear Ghaoithe Móire.*  
Slóthcháin Dé 'nár measc,  
agus imeasc an domhain  
go h-íomlán.

ʃi:əxa:n d'ɛ: nəɾ m'asɡ  
əɡəs əm'ag (sic) ə ɔəwən'  
ɡə himla:n

VI. *Nuair tugtar deoch bhainne duit.*

Míle moladh, buidheachas  
agus altughadh le Mac Dé ar  
son an bhainne mhaith.

m'i:l'ə molu: b'iaxəs  
əɡəs altu: l'ɛ: mak d'ɛ: ɛɾ  
sun ə wan'ə wax'

VII. *Ag Coisreacan na mBeithidheach.*

Ar chuimrighe Dé agus Muire  
dhíobh, agus bail Pádraic.

ɛɾ' xim'r'y: d'ɛ: ɡəs m'ijə  
ʃi:əv əɡəs bul pa:drək'

VIII. *'Ghá gcoisreacan sa mbóitheach.*

Rath Dé, agus bail Pádraic  
oraibh go maidin.

rah d'ɛ: ɡəs bul pa: drək'  
ɔrəv' ɡə mad'ən'

IX. *Tar éis na bó do bhlighe deirtear.*

Coisreacán Dé ort.

kəʃr'əka:n d'ɛ: ɔrt

cf. D. coisreacan.

## X. Nuair chítear na prataí nua.

Marbh-fháisg ar an gCailligh  
Ruaidh.

maruwa:ʃg' er' ə gal'i:  
ru:əj

Níl fhios agam an beannacht nó mallacht atá san rádh sin. Tá sé an-choitcheann, cuma ar bith i Muintir Chionnaith agus i gClann Fhearmaighe fiú amháin ag daoine nach bhfuil aon fhocal Gaedhilge eile acu. Deirtear é nuair a baintear na prataí nua do'n chéad uair. Tá sé ráidhte gur sort beannachta ar na prataí nua é, ach táim i n-an-shocair faoi chéill an dá fhocal "marbhfháisg" agus "beannacht" a thabhairt le chéile.

Chualas an rádh céadna i dtuaisceart Co. Shligigh ó Sheán Ó Feinneadha ach, [ba i séasúr na h-iascaireachta a chloiseadh seisean é nuair a beirtí ar an gcéad iasc.

Tamall beag tar éis sin bhíos i gCill Móbhí i n-oirthear Mhuigheó agus chualas arís é ach ní rabhthas ar aon fhocal faoi'n míniú a bhí leis. B'ann a fuair mé an míniughadh a b'fhearr mar sin féin. Dubhairt P. Mac Conchairrge liom go nglaoidhtaoi "An Chailleach Ruadh" ar an sgiollán a cuirtí san Earrach. Annsin i séasúr bainte na bprataí gur mhinic a thagadh an sean-sgiollán ruadh feóighte isteach leis na prataí nua. "Marbh-fháisg ar an gCailligh Ruaidh agus míle buidheachas le Dia ar an fata óg," a chloiseadh sé ag na sean-daoine. Ba mhinic freisin a chuala sé—"Turn the fataí on the loft or they'll go into cailleach ruadhs." B'ionann é sin agus a rádh go dtosnóchaidís ag geint, go racadh an mhaith isteach sa ngas agus nach mbéadh tairbhe ar bith ionnta mar söl nó mar bhiadh.

## XI. Mallacht.

Sgiorra slum ort.

ʃg'i:r (?) ʃlumort

(S > ʃ roimh l—leathan).

Sgiorradh is lomadh ort atá ann is dócha.

## XII. Sgiorra slum ort,

Cineál Shimon Buidhe,  
a bhí ag spídeoireachta ar  
an Athair Ambrós.

ʃg'irə ʃlum ort

kin'a:l (sic) heimun bui:

əv'i ə sbi:d'ərəxd (sic) er'

ən ahər' ambro:s

Simon Buidhe: (Duine éigin a bhí ag spídeoireacht ar óglaigh  
98 a b'eadh Simon is dócha.)

Faoi'n Ath. Ambrós cf. Cuid II. "Cumhaidh na Cléire."

## XIII. Mallacht éadtrom.

Mallacht na sop ort.

maləxd nə sop ort

## AN FHEILM AGUS OBAIR NA FEILME

Seo roinnt focal a chuala mé ag m'athair agus ag seandaoine nach é.



1. *An Críol* (ə k'ri:l)

I gCo. Liathdroma tugtar críol ar chliabh. Go dtí gur fhág mé an conndae sin níor chuala mé an focal cliabh. h-Úsáidtear críol freisin i gCo. Shligigh.

cf. S.G. lc. 81 "dobeir líne as in crieol . . . nusgaib in ri uimmi"

2. *Párdóg* (pa:rdɔ:g)

As cláracha adhmaid a déantar an phárdóg de ghnáth i gCo. Liathdroma. As slait shaileach a déantar an críol.

3. *Tóinín* (tū:n'i:n')

Tá tóinín ionsgaoilte sa phárdóg (cf. D. sciathóg), agus nuair a bhíonn aoileach nó aon adhbhar eile istigh inntí bíonn maide faoi (**mad'ə fi:**) 'ghá choimeád 'na ionad cheart. An uair a sgaoiltear an bata nó an maide faoi, tuiteann an tóinín agus pé mianach a bhíos istigh. De ghnáth h-úsáidtear asal agus péire párdóg chun aoileach d'iomchur—sé an críol a h-úsáidtear le h-aghaidh na móna go h-iondual.

4. *Sluasad* (slu:səd)5. *láiḡhe* (la:i)

Tá (**lajə**) ag Tomás Ó Máille ach níor chuala mé sin. 'Sí an láighe an gléas oibre is coitcheannta fós i gCo. Liathdroma.

6. *Iomaire peataí* (um<sup>w</sup>iɣəpatɪ)7. *Gearróg* (g'aro:g)

Iomaire gearr 'seadh gearróg—giota d'iomaire fhada.

cf. Gearróga dubha na Nodlag.

8. *Ag gearradh póir* (ə g'aru: po:r')

Sgiollán 'seadh pór.

9. *Mála póir* (malə po:r')

Mála an phóir ba cheart bheith ann sílim. "Mála an t-síl".

(S. an E. lc. 70).

10. *Stíbhín* (ʃd'i:v'i:n')

I gcóir na bpeataí, iomairí is mó a h-úsáidtear i gCo. Liathdroma mar cré throm fhliuch atá ann agus déantar poll san iomaire leis an stíbhín. Cliath biorach timcheall cúig troighthe ar faid 'seadh é agus tá bróigín air ar a leagann duine a chos.

Tagann "gugarer" annsin agus mála an phóir thar a ghualainn aige agus sgaoileann sé anuas an sgiollán sa pholl. Dúntar an poll leis an mailéad (**ma:lɛ:d**)

11. "*Gugarer*" (*gugarər*)

Truailliughadh ar an bhfocal "*Gogaire*" 'seadh an focal seo— dá mbéadh an focal ceart ag na daoine béifí ag súil le (*gugəjə*). Sa Bhéarla ar fad a h-úsáidtear an focal anois.

Tugtar "*gugarer*" ar an duine a sháitheann an pór sa pholl. Obair éadtrom neamhoilte 'seadh an ghogaireacht agus de ghnáth is gearra-chailí agus gearra-bhodaigh a dhéanann í—Ní ceart iarraidh ortha obair ró-throm dhéanamh agus sin é an fáth is dócha go gcloistear a leithéid seo ag na sean-daoine:—

"Ná bac leis níl ann ach '*gugarer*', tá sé óg i neart is i gcéill".

12. *Bocán* (*bəkan*) (sic)

Stíbhín beag seadh an bocán, an déanamh céadna air is atá ar an mbocán i ngiall an dorais. I gcré bhog so-bhriste a h-úsáidtear é.

13. *Póithín* (*po:hi:n', po:x'i:n'*).

An prata beag. cf. póirín.

14. *Glac tónóg* (*glak to:no:g*).

Sgiollán caoch 'seadh tónóg. Níl aon mhaitheas inntí mar shíol. Níor chuala mé an focal seo ach ag sean-fhear amháin.

(P. Ó Maolmhoicheirghe).

15. *Iomaire agus trom* (*um<sup>u</sup>ijə gəstrum*).

D'réir Thómáis 'ic Giolla Mháirtín is ionann trom agus clais idir dhá iomaire.

16. *Screig* (*ʃg'r'eg'*).

Ált nó gleann cumhang, clochach a mbéadh fánaidh mhór leis 'seadh sgreig.

cf. *D*; screag.

17. *Báidhteóg* (*ba:t'o:g*)

Cliath a déantaí as fidheoga fada láidre b'eadh báidhteóg; h-úsáidtear í nuair bítear ag iascaireacht.

cf. *McK* báthshlaod; *D*. máiteog = (báidhteog, Co. Mhuigheó).

18. *Puirleóg* (*purl'o:g*).

Soipín luachra ag fás agus é sgartha amach ó'n gcúid eile 'seadh puirleóg.

19. *Scoith* (*sgəix'*).

Úrluachra taréis dóibh bheith bainte, buailte agus triomúighthe 'seadh scoith.

cf. *D*. scoithín—A little wisp of hemp or flax.



22. *Straimpín* (*sdra:m'p'i:n'*).

Ceagal nó sort laincise an straimpín. Ceangluightear dhá chois tosaigh an ghabhair nó an asail leis. As scoith a déantaoi fadó é. Cloistear an focal go foirleathan fós i gCo. Liathdroma agus i gCo. Roscomáin.

cf. *Gearrbhaile*—An t-Earrach 1930:

"Is ionnann straimpín agus píosa téide nó a leithéid len a gceangluightear gé nó cearc".

23. *Cruim-nasc* (*krim' nask*).

Ceagal a cuirtear ar an mbuin (Adharc agus cos tosaigh).

cf. *D. crobh-nasc*.

24. *Braighdín* (*brëid'i:n'*).

Rópa tanaidhe 'seadh braighdín. H-úsáidtear é chun ceagal chur ar ghabhar de ghnáth. As scoith a déantaoi é fadó.

cf. *D. braighdín*; O'R. *braighdeán*.

25. *Scrath-ghlugar* (*sgra:lugar*).

Fód creathánach muscánach seadh an scrath-ghlugar. D'fhéadh-fadh an barr-fhód bheith cruaidh, ach dá dtéigheadh duine isteach air bhéadh sé preabach luasgánach faoi. Is minic greann ag na páisdí ar a leithéid.

cf.—sgrath-bhogán; *D. sraith-lugair* (Co. an Chláir).

26. *Tá na cearca ag breith* (*ta:nə k'arkə ə b'jə*).27. *Síogán* (*si:ga:n*) (sic).

I gCo. Liathdroma tugtar síogán ar chruaich chaoil fhada a déantar de'n choirce amuigh sa pháirc-coinnligh. Staca a déantar nuair a tugtar isteach san iothlainn é.

28. *Sgeimhil na Cruaiche* (*sg'eĩ'əl nə kruəx'ə*).

Focal an-choitchianta fós i dTuaisceart Roscomáin 'seadh "sgeimhil". Níor chuala mé i gCo. Liathdroma é.

29. *Cuirtear fáir faoi'n cruaic* (sic) (*kurt'ər faɪ fʷi:n kru:əx'*).

Ní mór do'n fhéar é bheith tirim fé'n a bhun agus le sin bheith amhlaidh caithfear "fáir" de chliathacha nó de chlocha a chur faoi.

cf. *B.B. lch 42*; *D.*—fáir; *C. is D. lch 22*.

30. *Corra-shúgáin* (*kore hu:ga:n'*)

Leis an gcorra-shúgáin castar na súgáin a cuirtear ar na coicéir a déantar amuigh sa móinféar nó istigh san iothlainn. Focal eile chuala mé air a b'eadh an casadh.

cf. *D. crúcán*, *cor-shúgáin* (don), *sníomhaidhe*.

31. *Ceannóg* (**k'ano:g**).

Ceannóg a tugtar ar fhuighleach an chochain a d'fhanann 'sa gcoinneach.

cf. *S. an E.* lch 71; *B.B.* lch 45.

Cloistear i dTír-Chonaill "ag cruinniughadh ceannóg" i.e. ag baint na dtráithníní a bhíonn fágtha indiaidh an spealadóra. Ar an obair chéadna i gCo. Liatdroma tugtar "ag baint na breibheacha".

32. *Bórán* (**bo:ra:n**).

Criathar an-mhín 'seadh an bórán. Árthrach cruinn éadoimhin déanta as adhmaid agus bóin de chroiceann laoiigh ann. Dóightear fuinneadh (sic) an chroicinn le h-aol agus is míne go mór é ná scuigheán. Is leis a caiththear an coirce.

cf. *S. an E.* lch 71; *B.B.* lch 45.

35. *An súpla agus an láfrann* (**ə suplə gəs lafrən**) (sic)

Fuair mé an t-eolas seo fé'n súiste ó Sheán Ó Feinneadha, An Ghráinséach, Co. Shligigh. "Tá" adeir sé "dhá chuid insa súiste, an súpla agus an láfrann". An súpla a ghníos an bualadh agus bíonn an láfrann i láimh an bhuailteóra—an iall a bhíonn ghá gceangal.

cf. *D.* lámh-chrann; *S. Mh. L.* lch 163.

34. *Manrach na gCaorach* (**manrəx nə gi:rəx**).

Pionna gan díon, i gcóir na gcaorach 'seadh manrach.

## AN TEACH AGUS A GHNÓTHA

I. *Ag cúmhhdach a' tighe* (**ə ku:dəx ə t'i:**)

Sa gcuid is mó de Cho. Liathdroma húsáidte "ag cúmhhdach a' tighe" in áit 'ag tuigheadóireacht." . . . Ag Tomás Mac Giolla Mháirtín a chomhnuigheas ar an dteórainn idir Liathdruim agus Co. an Chabháin chuala mé ag tuigheadóireacht (**ə tɪv'ədərəxd**). Ba ar an gcéad siolla a bhí béim an 'ghotha díreach mar a bhíos sa dtuaisceart.

cf. *A.* Alt 11; *S.Mh.L.* lch 30.

II. *Cleitín a' tighe* (**k'let'i:n' ə t'i:**).

Is ionann an cleitín agus maide mullaigh a tighe.

cf. *S.G.* lch 72 "clethe."

III. *Buachaill a' tighe* (**boxəl' ə t'i:**).

Luibh a fhásas ar bhinn tighe 'seadh "buachaill a tighe".

Deirtear gur cosaint ó theine é.

cf. *D.* Buachaill tighe.



IV. *Faradh* (**fara:**).

Tugtar faradh i gCo. Liathdroma agus i gCo. Shligigh ar lota (lofta, lochta). Chonnaic mé ceann i dteach Aodha Uí Fhloinn atá breis agus céad bliadhna d'aois. As slait shaileach agus driseóga atá sé déanta. Cláracha adhmaid is mó a cítear ionnta indiu. Ins na cúigibh uilig tugtar faradh de ghnáth ar chliath na gcearc.

cf. *B.B.* lch 10. “‘Dhá mh’uch’, arsa ‘n chearc is í a’ dul ar an bhfaradh.”

V. *Druid an Doras* (**drīg’ ə dərəs**).

Druig a’ dorus a cloistear i gcomhnuidhe i gCo. Liathdroma. H-úsáidtear “druid” i gCu. Uladh ach “druig” a chuala mé ag gach duine i gCo. Liathdroma.

VI. *Maide briste* (**mad’ə b’jfd’i:**) (sic).

Maide brisde a úsaideann na sean-daoiné i gCo. Liathdroma ar thlú; tolúr. (**tolu:r**) a chuala mé i gCill Móbhí, Co. Mhuigheó, agus tongsa (**ton̪sə**) i dtuaisceart Co. Shligigh. Caithfidh go dtagann an focal tongsa ó’n mBéarla, ach ní heól dom an focal tolúr chor ar bith.

VII. *Dhá chruaich mo bhata.* (**ya: xru:əx’ mə watə**).

cruach = ceann.

VIII. *Foránglais* (**fura:nləf**) (*ng > nn*).

Bainne agus uisce measgtha thríd seadh foránglais. Amuigh sa móinfhéar i rith an t-Samhraidh is mó húsáidtear é. Bhéadh bainne ar a aghaidh beagán ró-throm.

cf. *B.B.* lch 68.

IX. *Gabh amach is dearc ar an bó* (**gə mox əf d’ark er’ ə bo:**).

H-úsáidtear dearc annseo díreach mar “féach”. Níl an chomhabairt agam ó Cho. Liathdroma, ach sílím go n-abróchthaoi “amharc” in áit dearc.

X. *Ag bleaghan na mart* (**ə b’l’a:n nə mart**).

Ag bleaghan na mart chuala mé i gcomhnuidhe i gCo. Liathdroma.

XI. *Tá mé a’ dul a bhualadh an bhainne* (**ta: m’e: ə gul ə wu:(ə)liu:** (sic) **əwan’ə**).XII. *Ag bualadh an bhainne* (**ə bo:lu: ə wa:n’ə**).XIII. *brais* (**braf**).

Is ionann brais agus seal nó tamall. Níor chualas in abairt Gaedhilge é, ach tá sé ar fud Co. Liathdroma sa Bhéarla mar seo—“Take a ‘brais’ at the churn”.

cf. *D.* brais (Don).

**XIV. Bainne circe (ban'ə k'ir'k'ə).**

Ubh, bruihthe i gcupán seadh bainne circe. H-úsáidte é mar annlann leis an bprata tur. "Is beag an bealaidheacht (sic) is fearr ná an turaidheacht."

**XV. Pluidín (pl'id'i:n').**

Linn bheag d'uisce marbh 'seadh pluidín—h-úsáidtear an focal freisin ag cur síos ar urlár nach mbéadh sguabtha i gceart. m.sh.—“Cad chuige ar fhág tú an pluidín sin id dhiaidh.”

**XVI. slais uisge (slaf'isg'ə).**

Tá leac na tairsighe salach. Sgárd slais uisge uirthi agus sguab í cf. *Ar Agaidh*, Samhain 1940—“Seanchus as Tír Eoghain.” “Throw a slais of water on it”.

**XVII. sgailtín (sgal't'i:n').**

D'réir na sean-daoine deoch a bhíodh an-choitchianta i gCo. Liathdroma a b'eadh sgailtín. Uisge, bainne úr agus oinniúin agus iad bruite le chéile a b'eadh é. Déanann an Donnabhánach tagairt dó féach, *Ord. Survey Letters for Co. Ros.* Vol. 1. lch 8.

“This O'Connor did ascertain, but he missed Munter-Kenny famous for Scalteen, Tom Maguire's and Anne Magaraghan.”

cf. *Gearrbhaile*—An t-Earrach 1930, lch 32.

“Is ionann sgailtín agus bláthach agus min coirce agus iad beirbhte.”

cf. *D. scaillín*.

**XVIII: Scrathóg (sgrahog).**

i.e.—Siphunculus, vel organum quod ad viscera lavandum inventum est. Scárdaire, nó gléas dochtúireachta ab'eadh an scrathóg. Lamhnán muice nó bó a bhí inntí. Crochtaí sa gcistin í go dtí go mbíodh gádh léi. An uair a bhíodh duine tinn baintí feidhm aistí chun “enema” thabhairt dó; líontaí an scrathóg leis an lucht; sáithní giolcach sa scrúig, brúghtaoi ar an mbolg agus sa t-slighe sin h-úsáidte mar scárdaire í.

Mo shean-chara Aodh Mac Conshnáma a thug agus a mhínigh an focal scrathóg dhom. “Corr-dhochtuír a bhí ann nuair a bhí mise óg,” adubhairt sé liom, “agus b'ar éigin é má bhí Éireannach ar bith 'na measc. Dochtúirí taistil, fir ghorma agus millí maide nach iad a bhí ag dul thart”.

## SOLAS A TIGHE

**I. An Cam . . . (ə kam).**

Níor chuala mé an focal so ach ag triúr, beirt sean-bhan i dtuaisceart Liathdroma agus sean-fhear i dtuaisceart Cho. Shligigh.



Soitheach beag iarainn, déanamh báid air agus trí cosa faoi a b'eadh an cam. H-úsáidte é chum róisín do leaghadh, mar b'é *an Choinneal Róisín* (ə xínəl (sic) ro:ʃi:n') an t-aon adhbhar soluis a bhí ag muinntir na tuaithe i gCo. Liathdroma seachtmhóghadh bliadhain ó shoin nó b'fhéidir níos déidheannaighe fós.

As snáithíní barraigh a déantaí an bhuaicis de ghnáth. Tarraingtí thríd an róisín í agus annsin fágtaí i leath-taoibh í ar feadh tamaill dá triomughadh agus dá cruadhughadh.

H-úsáidte coinnleoir speisealta leis an gcoinnil róisín, saoste cearcallach adhmaid, slat iarainn tré na lár suas le h-áis fé leith ag barr na slaite chun an choinneal do ghreamughadh. An fhaid a bhí na coinnle ar lasadh cuirtí na coinnleoirí ar na h-iartaí, ceann ar gach iarta.

"Ba chaoch an solus é" adubhairt Brighid, Bean Uí Fhallamhain liom, "agus rud eile", ar sise, "badh é an deabhal é ar caitheamh smugairlí."

Is in-spéise an rud é an solas seo a chur i gcomparáid le solus oileáin na mBlascaod Mór nó le solus Oileán Cléire.

## II. *Faideóg* (fad'o:g).

Ag m'athair chuala mé an focal seo. Punann chochain a h-úsáidte mar lóchrann nuair a bhíodh an oidhche an-dorcha a b'eadh an fhaideóg.

Daoine an-mhuinnteartha 'seadh bunadh na tuaithe agus nuair a bhíos obair an lae críochnuighthe acu téigheann siad ag áirneán dá chéile. Nuair a thagas am suain téigheann siad abhaile ach ma bhíonn an oidhche dorcha cuirtear sméaróid isteach sa phunainn chochain díreach roimh fhágaint an tighe dhóibh.

Cuireann an ghaoth an fhaideóg tré theine agus tugann an bhladh solas dóibh. Bíonn ceangal ar leith uirthi i dtreo is nach n-ídeóchadh sí ró-mhear.

cf. *D. Faideóg*, taper.

## III. *Crann-tsoluis* (kran tɔlɪʃ).

Dhá phíosa adhmaid i bhfuirm croise thar a chéile ab'eadh an crann-tsoluis. Bhíodh coinneal sáithe i ngach beann de'n chrois agus an uair a bhíodh duine marbh sa teach lastaí na coinnle agus crochtaí an crann-tsoluis ó'n maide ceangail.

Chuaidh an crann-tsoluis as feidhm nuair a tosnuigheadh ar na corpáin thabhairt go dtí an seipéal tar oidhche.

## IV. *Crochtaoi ceithre coinnle ionn agus iad lasta* (kroxɪ: k'eʃə kɪn'lə ɪn aɡəs i:əd lastɪ:).

### CINÉALACHA DAOINE

#### I. *Sumachán* (suməxə:n).

Leadaidhe mór aindeiseach 'seadh sumachán.

cf. *D. Súmachán*.

II. *Óinseach* (**o:nsəx**) (sic).

I gClann Fhearmaighe cialluigheann óinseach bean olc.

III. *Gabhachán* (**gəuwəxan**).

Duine tuathalach 'seadh gabhachán.

IV. *Leastrachán* (**l'asdrəxə:n**).

Duine leisceamhail 'seadh leastrachán.

cf. *D.* "helpless person".

V. *Ráinín* (**ra:n'i:n'**).

Duine tanaidhe gan aon bheodhacht ann 'seadh ráinín.

VI. *Coigealach* (**kig'ələx**).

Duine gan éirim aigne 'seadh coigealach.

cf. "Untidy person".

VII. *Gabhgaidhe* (**gəudʒi:**).

Duine óg gan aon mheabhair cinn aige 'seadh gabhgaidhe.

cf. *D.* "Idler, a vagrant etc."

VIII. *Sláimín* (**slə:m'i:n'**).

Bean gan slacht seadh sgláimín (straoil).

cf. *Gearrbhaile*, An t-Earrach, 1930: "Is ionann sláimín agus bean bheag".

IX. *bacach* (**bəkəx**).

Duine sprionnluighthe 'seadh bacach.

X. *Pútrachán* (**putrəxə:n**).

Útamálaidhe 'seadh pútrachán.

cf. *D.* putrachán.

XI. *Codladh-ina-sheasamh* (**kələ nə hasu:**).

Codlatánach gan bheodhacht gan fuinneamh. Chaithfeadh sé a shaoghal ag brionglóidigh).

# AINMHIDH THE

I. *Bocaidhe na fiadhaine* (**bokɪ: nə f'i:ən'ə**).

Girrfhiadh 'seadh bocaidhe na fiadhaine.

II. *An mada crann* (**ə madə kran**).

Iora ruadh seadh mada crann.

cf. McK. "cat crann".



III. *Minneán* (**m'in'a:n**).

Ainm eile ar bhradán 'seadh minneán d'réir Thomáis Mhic G. Mháirtín). Ar ghabhar óg thug sé mionnán (**m'ivan**). Athruigheann ainm an bhradáin d'réir mar a bhíonn sé ag dul in aois.

cf. *B.B.* lch 140.

IV. *An Gadaidhe Ruadh* (**ə gadr: ru:ə**).

Ainm eile ar an sionnach 'seadh an Gadaidhe Ruadh.

V. *Fíneóga* (**f'i:n'o:gə**).

Leamhain a itheas an t-éadach 'seadh na fíneóga.

cf. *D.* "Insects in cheese".

VI. *Preabadóir* (**p'r'abədo:r'**).

Mais 'seadh preabadóir.

cf. *D.* An preabaire breac.

VII. *An droighneán* (**ə drəin'a:n**).

Ainm eile ar an dtraona 'seadh droighneán d'réir P. Mhic Conchairrge.

VIII. *An dúbhrachán* (**ə du:rəxə:n**).

D'réir na sean-daoine tá péist mhór mhillteach i Loch Ailleann. An Dúbhrachán an t-ainm atá uirthi ach ní h-ionann í agus an mada uisce.

IX. *Airg bó* (**ar'əg' bo:**).

cf. *D.* airghe.

X. *Alta gé* (**a:ltə gɛ: (sic)**).

cf. *Or.* Áltain.

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[Tá mé fíor-bhuíoch don Dr Gearóid Stockman as Ollscoil na Banríona, Béal Feirsde, a rinne na h-athruithe atá luaite ar lc . Marab é, níorbh fhéidir linn an obair seo a chur i gcló. Tá Cumann Seanchais Bhreifne fé chomaoín mhór aige.

An tEagarthóir.

## DINNSEANCHAS, LEÍRMHEAS

*DINNSEANCHAS*, Nollaig 1967. Iris an Chumann Logainmneacha, an tSuirbhéireacht Ordanáis, Páirc an Fhionnuisce, Baile Átha Cliath.

Foilsítear an iris seo dhá uair sa bhliain faoi Mheitheamh agus faoi Nollaig. Síntiús bliana 10/-. San uimhir seo tá cúig altanna : “Meacan” in áitainmneacha (T. S. Ó Máille); Tobar Finnmhuighe — Slán Pádraig (K. W. Nicholls); Logainmneacha as Tóraí, Tír Chonaill (Nollaig Ó hUrmholtaigh); Liosta de thailte Róisteacha 1461 (Éamon de hÓir); agus As Cartlann na Logainmneacha, Ballykinler agus Horseleap.

Tá an focal “Meacan” le fáil i logainmneacha i gCo. an Chabháin — Mackan agus i gCo. Liathdroma — Gortavackan agus Mackan. Sé tuairim an údair go gciallaíonn Meacan, “meall, meall de chnoc” agus meachnach “cnapach, meall aige”.

Níl leagan Béarla de logainm ar bith in oileán Thóraí. Chomh maith leis na liostaí bheireann Ó hUrmholtaigh an leagan foghraíochta mar a bhí sé ag muintir na háite. Tugann sé an chiall dúinn áit ar bith is féidir sin a dhéanamh.

San alt “Liosta de Thailte Róisteacha”, críochnaíonn Éamonn de hÓir obair a chuir Liam Ó Buachalla, nach maireann, tús leis.

Faoi’n teideal “As Cartlann na Logainmneacha” tá fúthu cuid den ábhar atá bailithe ag brainse na logainmneacha den tSuirbhéireacht Ordanáis a fhoillsiú. Ag barr an ailt tugtar ainm na háite i mBéarla m.sh. Ballykinler, an tainm Gaeilge atá molta go sealadach ag an gCoimisiún, Baile Coinleora, an contae in a bhfuil an áit, an Dún, an bharúntacht, Lecale Up.; an pharóiste Ballykinler agus más gá é an baile fearann chomh maith le huimhir an leathanaigh den léarscáil 6” (S.O.).

Tá ardmholadh tuillte ag an gCumann as ucht an eolas seo a chur ar fáil agus moltar do bhaill Cumann Seanchais Bhreifne cuidiú leis an obair atá ar siúl acu trén iris fhiúntach seo a cheannach.



# CUMANN SEANCHAIS BHREIFNE

1967

## FEBRUARY :

A series of four lectures on Ireland in the 17th century was given in the Ulster Arms Hotel, Cavan. The speakers were Very Rev. C. J. Travers, Rev. A. Leaden, Mr. Bradfield and Rev. D. Gallogly.

## 21st APRIL :

The annual general meeting was held in the Ulster Arms Hotel, Cavan. There were about 120 people present. The officers and committee of 1966 were re-elected en bloc. After the meeting, Seán Ó Lúing of the translation staff of Dail Eireann gave the annual lecture on Fenianism in Breifne.

## 9th JULY :

About 100 members turned up for the annual outing to Fore and Trim. At Fore Very Rev. P. Cuffe, P.P., guided the group around the various sites and gave a very learned and entertaining talk on the history of the place. Mrs M. Conway and Mr J. Reynolds of the Meath Archaeological Society conducted the tour of Trim, in particular of the de Lacy Castle, and of the Cathedral Priory Church.

## 6th OCTOBER :

Rev. D. Gallogly gave a lecture on Sir Frederick Hamilton to a large audience in the Courthouse, Manorhamilton. The lecture was organised by Mr Oliver Haslette, B.A., and resulted in a considerable increase in membership of the Society.

## Cumann Seanchais Bhreifne

## LIST OF MEMBERS

(ADDRESSES IN CO. CAVAN UNLESS OTHERWISE STATED)

- ANTRIM COUNTY LIBRARY, Demesne Ave., Ballymena, Co. Antrim.  
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 BOYLAN, Dermot, Latnadrona, Crosserlough, via Kells.  
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